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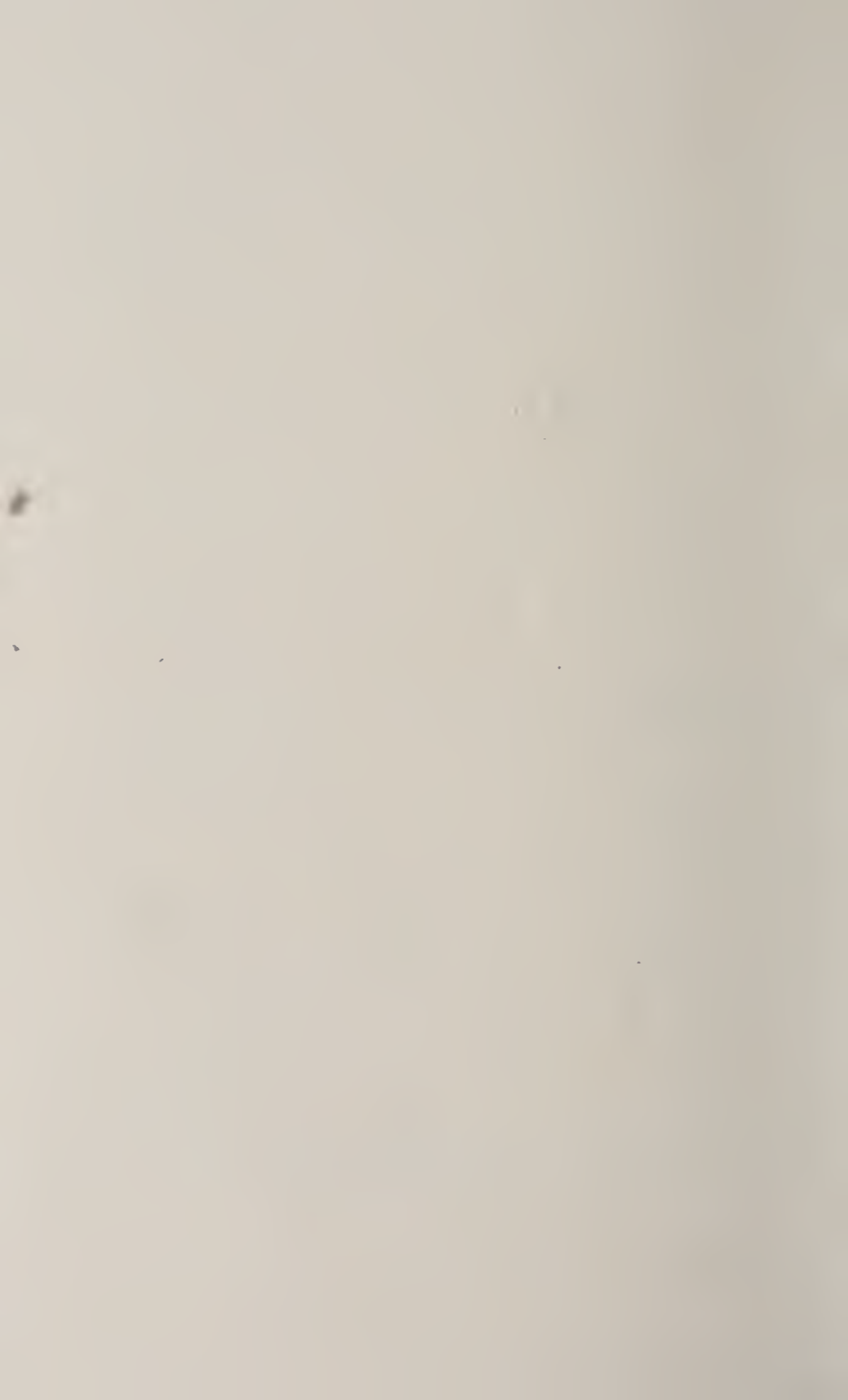
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#### ERRATA.

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Page 809, line 12 from top, *for* 'Kunde cles Morgenlandes,' *read* 'Kunde  
des Morgenlandes.'

" " line 14 from top, *for* 'translations' *read* 'Transactions.'



# JOURNAL

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## ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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*Review of L'HISTOIRE DU BUDDHISM INDIEN, par E. BURNOUF. By Dr.  
E. ROER.*

It is with great satisfaction, that we hail the appearance of a work, which will, we suspect, form an epoch in our knowledge of Buddhism. Seeing the name of the author at the head of this "Introduction to the History of Buddhism" important results were to be expected from his knowledge of Sanscrit and of Pali literature, but we did not anticipate, that a great part of his researches was based on Sanscrit sources. It is indeed singular, that our first information about Buddhism should have been derived from secondary sources; from the Burmese, the Moguls, the Chinese, &c. and should only gradually have returned to its main spring. Our first acquaintance with Buddhism was in fact not of a kind to invite research; the mixture of extravagant fables, apparent historical facts, philosophical and religious doctrines was so monstrous, that it seemed to defy every attempt to unravel it. There were architectural monuments in abundance, which bore witness to high ancient civilization among Buddhist nations, but in referring to their traditional or written records, which alone could give language to those relics, enquiry was startled at their incoherence and inconsistency. The researches of Abel Rémusat, especially on the Buddhist writings of the Mongolian nations, threw the first light on these mysteries. He was closely followed by F. J. Smith, and from Chinese authorities by

Klaproth, Landresse, A. C. de Kőrös, whose indefatigable zeal and perseverance opened new sources for the history and religion of the Buddhists in the literature of the Tibetans. About the same time the excavations of Buddhist monuments in the Punjab and other places, secured a geographical basis for the empires of the Buddhists, and the coins found in the topes, with the decyphering of their legends by J. Prinsep, brought to light a series of facts, which were of the highest importance to true history. All these results were eminently corroborated and illustrated by an ancient Buddhist work, written in Pali, the "Mahawanso," of which a translation into the English was published by the Hon. Mr. Turnour. From a different quarter of India the numerous communications of Mr. Hodgson on Buddhism in Nepaul, and his discovery of an immense number of Buddhist works, written in Sanscrit, excited the highest interest ; but a critical examination of these books not having been given, no dependance could be placed upon these illustrations otherwise so valuable. The present work of Mr. Burnouf is the result of such a research, and through it we have returned to the central source of the Buddhist writings, from which all others, with exception of the Pali, are only radiations. It owes its origin to a number of Sanscrit manuscripts (80) which Mr. Hodgson collected in Nepaul, and which, with his disinterested liberality in promoting the cultivation of Oriental studies, he presented, about the end of 1837, to the Asiatic Society of Paris ; a liberality, the first fruit of which is this remarkable work of Burnouf, who does not fail to do full justice to the noble disinterestedness of Mr. Hodgson. There are very few scholars capable of undertaking a research into the materials. As a fortunate combination of circumstances had concentrated at Paris all the first and secondary sources for the history of Buddhism, a man was required who united to a profound knowledge of the ancient languages of India, an acquaintance with the modern languages and literature of the Buddhists, the critical tact of the philologist and historian, and the comprehensive grasp of the philosopher, qualities, which in E. Burnouf are most happily blended together. It is certainly not an easy task to go through eighty large manuscript works, written in a barbarous language, made often unintelligible by the ignorance of the copyist, to analyse the contents of all, to bring them in their true chronological order, to compare them with the documents of other nations, written



in a different language, and lastly use them as sources for the history, religion, and philosophy of the Buddhists.

The Buddhist religion claims in many respects a peculiar interest. The changes it has undergone are most remarkable. Having overcome the religion of the Brahmins on its own ground, having swayed by its kings the greater part of India, it has been banished from its native soil so entirely, that it is almost forgotten there by the bulk of the population, while its followers in other parts of the earth are more numerous than those of any other religion. It is an undeniable fact, that a great part of mankind were humanized by it, and that for the civilization of central and western Asia it has done the same, as Christianity has for the barbarians of Europe.

But a higher interest is connected with its history for the philanthropist. Has Buddhism been able to produce such a religious revolution in India? Has it been able to overcome the intellectual barrier with a great number of the Hindoos, the tenacious adherence to their religious impressions? We may also perhaps be able to exercise a similar influence on the Hindoo mind, to break the instinctive resistance against a religion which reveals the true aim of mankind, and is connected with all the progress which mankind has made in science, in art, and in the true spirit of government.

And in this respect the annals of Buddhism should be attentively studied. Truth in itself alone is not sufficient to eradicate errors, which a long habit has accustomed people to consider as their most sacred inheritance; the mind of man being not prepared for a religious or even a scientific truth, will reject it. As regards the propagation of religious truth among a people, its character, habits, institutions should be intimately known, before a lasting impression can be made on them. The Buddhist annals are in this respect especially instructive, showing the means, by which they succeeded in converting a people, every institution of which is calculated to perpetuate its religious associations. Among the many important results, which are the fruit of Burnouf's researches, we will here notice one, which appears to us of immense importance to the future studies of Indian antiquity; it is, that there is established beyond doubt the higher antiquity of Bráhmánism; and before we enter into a description of the work itself, we beg to be permitted to consider this object from another point of view than that in

which Burnouf regarded it, in the hope, we may contribute to remove some prejudices, which obstruct not only the study of the history of Buddhism, but of all other religions.

The question, whether Buddhism or Bráhmánism be the more ancient religion, has not yet been decided to general satisfaction, though there should not be any doubt about it among those who have studied Indian antiquities. The incertitude, which still prevails on this subject, appears to originate in the opinion of men, who not paying sufficient attention to a most authentic document,—the ancient Sanscrit literature, allowed their judgment to be swayed by modern Buddhist sources. And even these were not critically examined by them, as the Buddhists themselves explicitly, as well as implicitly, acknowledge the higher antiquity of the religion of the Védas.

It is not difficult to discover the cause of this predilection for the antiquity of Buddhism. We have above remarked, that the religion of Buddha, as derived from more modern documents, offers an inextricable web of history, legends, religious and philosophical tenets, which appear to some, to have a close affinity to Christian doctrines (for instance, to the dogma of the Trinity); to others, with the assertions of some ancient Grecian philosopher; in a word, the *apparent* depth of some opinions, combined with the *apparent* want of historical documents, throws it back also into the depth of time. There is with many persons inclination to interest themselves in every thing which bears the semblance of remote antiquity. An event that disappears in the mists of time, has for them an enchantment which the most excellent historical statement of the real connexion of cause and effect would fail to excite, as it thus would be encompassed in the notion of every-day phenomena.

The Buddhists themselves, although in sad contradiction with their own statements, have always shown an inclination to push back as far as possible the origin of their doctrine, or in other words, to pronounce their religion without beginning and end, a proceeding, which is quite in accordance with their position. The question of their opponents, why Sákyá Muni did not appear in any former period, was cut off by the doctrine, that the universe always is under the government of a Buddha. This assertion however well it accords with the wishes of the Buddhist, has not the least foundation in the eyes of the critic.

We willingly admit, that Buddhism has for the critic and historian a peculiar interest, but of an opposite kind ; which is, that a religion, which, as regards even its origin, appears to belong to an advanced state of society, and which in all its stages manifests elements of a doctrine intended to be propagated,—that such a religion should at the same time recoil into the darkness of a primeval period. It is the peculiar object of the enquirer to raise the veil which was, as we may safely assert, woven in after days ; like as with the pretensions of Bráhmaism to indefinite antiquity, made at a more recent period.

On the other hand we may assert, that the darkness into which the origin of many religions is plunged, cannot be removed, because such darkness is, as it were, cause and consequence of their origin.

A religion which is produced by the human mind, without being dependent on former religious opinions among a nation, but is rather the commencement of its religious convictions, has neither consciousness of itself, nor falls within the range of history. There is the same obscurity with regard to it, as with regard to language, the origin of which we may comprehend as a necessary effect from general causes in human nature, without being able to trace it by historical documents.

We now assert, that Buddhism is no primitive religion, but one of those, which are founded on the development of preceding religious opinions.

Religion has the same object with philosophy, which, however, is attained by either in a different way ; religion perceives its object by belief, while the other endeavours to realize it by knowledge. Both depend on the idea of infinity. As certainly as man has the idea of finite things, so has he also the idea of an infinite nature ; both are correlate ideas, and religion therefore is founded on the nature of man. By religion we believe in our connection with infinite power ; by philosophy, we attempt to trace it by a succession of arguments. Being both alike in their object and commencement, they must also have a similar development, or the steps which the one has to go to the goal of its perfection, are represented likewise in the other.

Philosophy in its origin has two characteristics ; first, it is simple, or the object of knowledge is perceived in its simplest relations ; and, secondly, all its principles as well as its explanations are material. The

material causes and explanations are not even comprehensive, but are limited only to certain phenomena of nature. The next step in the march of reason, is to collect all these phenomena in one view, as well as to reflect upon the forms, in which they appear in our mind. When this circle of natural causes, of their being reduced to one and the same (material) cause, and their mode of connection with our perception has been completely passed through, when by this process the various stores of learning, and a progressive power of reflection and reflected notions have been produced, the mind will be perceived in its contrast with material nature, that is to say, as perceiving, as comprehending a variety of objects in one and the same view. This stage of philosophical reflection is impossible, without being preceded by the former,—the materialist consideration. At first, however, the more obvious acts and faculties of the mind are only perceived, that is to say, in its difference from nature, and only when they have been examined, are the various manifestations of the mental activity submitted to investigation; the mind appears then as a moral agent, and it is then the highest destination of mankind to realize a hierarchy of moral ends.

It is evident, that in this exposition, the assertion is not included, that on the first stage of the philosophic development of the human mind, no notions of mental acts should have existed; on the contrary, they undoubtedly existed; for it is in the nature of the mind to be conscious of its acts; but this consciousness is first found in an unreflected perception; as a clear, well defined notion it cannot exist, until by a series of opposite notions, the nature of the mind becomes manifest. The same law exists, as regards the perception of moral ends, which, however, is not necessary here further to discuss.

Religion follows the same steps in its development. Powers of nature, or objects of external perception, have been first worshipped as the gods of man. They are, for instance, the elements, water, earth, fire, ether, or phenomena of short duration, though of overwhelming power, as the clouds, thunder and lightning, &c.; or objects on the sky, as sun, moon and stars. In the *Védas* prevails an adoration of the elements and the starry sky; the Greeks previously to the worship of the Olympian gods, adored Uranos (sky), Gaia (earth), Chronos (time), &c. In a later period qualities of the mind are attributed to the gods, as we find the gods of Olympus, or the gods of the Indian pan-



theon, which was produced after the period of the Védas, until the gods are considered as the moral rulers of the world.

Let us now apply these criteria to the religion of Buddha to see, whether it belongs to the primitive religions, or to those which can only arise in a more advanced age of mankind. First, its views of the world are not simple; we find therein a developed theory of the material elements, of an eternal circle of life and death, of a necessary connection of causes and effects; of infinite spaces and times, &c. together with almost all the gods of the Bráhmans. Further, the view of the world is not material, but there is clearly perceived the difference between mind and matter, a doctrine of the origin of all mental and material elements, from one element, which transcends the perception of our senses, and which in fact is the void, the nothing, a view which undoubtedly requires a far advanced abstraction. Further, as regards the mind, many different stages of its development are distinguished, and it is explicitly stated, that it is the destination of man to pass through all these stages, to liberate himself from all the trammels of nature, and to aspire by his own efforts to the highest degree of spiritual existence. Lastly, the moral element prevails in Buddhism; it is essentially a religion, in which the highest object is Dharmma, the realization of the moral law by a finite being, as the only means of receiving true liberation from the evil of life, and obtaining the state of a Buddha.

This explanation goes far to prove, that Buddhism is not simple, that all its elements are based on a previous development, and we may therefore safely assert, that it is not a primitive religion, but the result of religious ideas, previously cultivated in the people; or, with one word, Buddhism belongs to history, and if its documents be not lost, we must be able to trace its origin. The native country of Buddhism is India, and as there was no other religion but Bráhmanism, this must have been its parent. If this be true, it cannot be difficult to show that form of Bráhmanism to which it owes its existence. We, however, conclude here this exposition, which we made only for the purpose of contributing to settle a question which has too long been a matter of discussion to Oriental scholars, and return now to our immediate object.

As we already observed, Burnouf's work gives the historical evidence of the connection between Bráhmanism and Buddhism. It introduces us into the very circumstances from which Buddhism arose.

The more we advance in the perusal of his book, the darkness as to the mysterious origin of Buddhism is gradually dispelled, and we commence to get an insight into the very motives of its founder and its first apostles; in a word, we recognise in it a work of human intellect.

Mr. Burnouf endeavours first to establish the place, which the Sanscrit books of Nepal claim to occupy among the Buddhist literature in Asia, and after a careful comparison of the great Tibetan collection of Buddhist works, of which Mr. A. C. de Körös gave a detailed and able analysis in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, of Mongolian and Chinese Buddhist works with the Nepalese collection, he comes to the conclusion, that all of them are translations from the Nepalese books.

It is a fact, he says, proved now to evidence, that most of the sacred books of Tibet, Tartary and China, are only translations of the texts, discovered in Nepal, and this single fact marks positively the place of these texts in the series of documents which the Asiatic nations have furnished for the general history of Buddhism.

Ancient Buddhism has, according to the author, only two true sources, the Sanscrit works of Nepal, and the Pali collection of Ceylon, of both of which he made use in his researches.

The results of them are presented in the following order. His work is divided in three parts or memoirs. The first memoir is to describe, according to the Nepalese tradition, the Buddhist collection, discovered by Mr. Hodgson. For this purpose it is to enter into the necessary details concerning the great divisions of the sacred writings, admitted by the Buddhists of the North, by which it will be decided, whether they had been written at different periods or not. This memoir will somewhat dispel the obscurity of the first times of Buddhism, and at least decide the long controverted question of the comparative antiquity of Buddhism and Bráhmaism. The second memoir, which will be published in a subsequent volume, is to examine the Pali books of Ceylon; and the third, to compare both collections and the traditions in the North and South concerning them. From this, says the author, will result the conviction, that there are two editions of the Buddhist works, the difference of which generally consists less in the matter than in the form and classification of the books; and secondly, that the true elements of ancient Buddhism must be looked for in what is common in either edition.

We now follow Mr. Burnouf into the description of the collection of the Nepalese works.

The Buddhist collection of Nepal, he says, is composed of a great number of works, the titles of which announce treatises of very different kinds.

Mr. Hodgson has published two long lists of these titles, which may be completed from the analysis which C. de Körös has given, of the Tibetan collection.

We do not possess in Paris all these works, but the eighty Buddhist volumes, which we owe to Mr. Hodgson, probably contain the most important part of the religious collection of Nepal.

The books, which are now extant, are divided into three classes, under the collective title Tripitaka. They are the Sūtrapitaka, or the discourse of Buddha, the Vinayapitaka, or the discipline, and the Abhidharmmapitaka, or the manifested laws, that is the metaphysics. This division, justified by the texts, is at the same time one of the bases of classification of the Kah-gyur, and is also familiar to the Chinese Buddhists, who explain it by the three words: sacred books, precepts, and discourses.

The word Sūtra denotes in the ancient literature of the Bráhmans short, and obscure sentences, which contain the fundamental rules of the Bráhminical sciences from grammar to philosophy. Though the word in this application is not unknown to the Buddhists, they use it also in another sense, and the treatises, which bear the title of Sūtras, have a very different character from those known by this name in the Bráhminical literature. The Sūtras, according to the Nepalese authorities, quoted by Mr. Hodgson, contain the sayings of the Buddhas; they are therefore often called "Buddha Vachana," the word of the Buddhas, or Múlagrantha, text-books. These books are ascribed to the last of the Buddhas, viz. to Sákyauni, and in consequence occupy a very elevated place among the Buddhist literature in Nepal. The Sūtras by their generally simple form and language, preserve the visible trace of their origin. They are dialogues, relative to ethics and philosophy, in which Sákya plays the part of teacher. Far from presenting his thoughts under the concise form, which is so intimately connected with Bráhminical instruction, he commits repetition, which, though fatiguing, bears the character of real preaching. There is a wide abyss between

his and the Bráhmínical methods; instead of the mysterious doctrine, entrusted almost secretly to a limited number of hearers, instead of formulas, the studied obscurity of which seems as well to discourage the penetration of the disciple as to excite it, the Sútras present round Sákya a numerous assembly, composed of all those who desire to hear him. This vast difference is founded on the essence of Buddhism, a doctrine, in which proselytism is the characteristic feature; which proselytism, however, is only the result of the universal benevolence and charity, which inspire Buddha, and which at the same time are the cause and the end of his mission on earth.

The title of the second class, Vinaya, signifies discipline. The Chinese Buddhists understand this term in the same way, and Mr. Rémusat defines it, the precepts, the rules, the laws or ordinances, literally the good government. The signification of this term is therefore clear, but by a singularity, which appears difficult to be accounted for, the collection of Mr. Hodgson does not present, with the exception of some short treatises on religious practices of little importance, works which belong to the class Vinaya. Why then is not the class Vinaya represented in the collection of Mr. Hodgson? The attentive examination of some volumes of the Nepalese collection, compared with the works, mentioned in the Tibetan Kah-gyur, solves this difficulty. In studying the analysis made by Csoma, I found there a certain number of treatises with titles, which also occur in the Nepalese collection. These treatises in general belong to the same class in either collection, and a work which, according to the double authority of the Nepalese tradition and of the manuscripts, is called Sútra, is classed according to the Tibetans, under the category of the Mdo, that is to say the Sútraś. The collection of Mr. Hodgson, contains a great number of small treatises under the title Avadana, which has as large an application as the title of Sútra, and I even believe, that the number of Avadanas is greater. Several of these treatises, however, have exactly the form of Sútras, and a strict classification would compel us to separate them from the works which bear the title of Avadana, but do not possess the character of a real Sútra.

The third division, the Abidharmma pitaka, contains in part the metaphysics, and in general the opinions, of the Buddhists concerning all that exists.



This classification of the books of Sákya, as it is found in the commentary of the Abidharmma Kósha and in the analysis of C. de Körös, appears to give the same authority to all the books. A more attentive examination, however, shows some differences between them. Thus I find some passages in the Abidharmma Kósha from which it may be inferred, that the Abidharmma does not directly emanate, nor with equal title, from the preaching of Sákya. The author of the above-mentioned treatise says for example, expressly, the book, which contains the metaphysics, is not derived from the word spoken by the Buddha.

Mr. Burnouf in his more special examination of the Sútras, has chosen two fragments of the Nepalese collection, known under the title of Divya avadána, in which (fragments) he recognises the characteristics of the Sútras. The first refers to the period of Sákya-muni Buddha, and reveals some proceedings of his preaching ; the second is a legend of a mere mythological character, which Sákya relates, to show the advantage and recompense of giving alms.

Sákya recommends in them the practice of the duties, which are the objects of his doctrine, and he shows the importance of them by the recital of the merits assigned to them, who act in accordance with them. He very often confirms his doctrine by relating events, which in a former life happened to him or to his disciples, admitting, as the Bráhmans, that all beings are condemned by the law of transmigration successively to pass a long series of existences, where they obtain the fruit of their good or bad acts. Sútras of this kind are very similar to legends, strictly speaking, and in fact they differ from them only in external characteristics of no great importance. A Súra always commences with this formula : “ Lo, what I have learnt”, while this formula is wanting in all the Avadánas which are known to the author. It must be also said, that the legend forms the basis and the appropriate matter of the Avadána, while it is only an accessory to the Súra, and serves only to confirm by an example the instruction of Buddha.

The identity of the title which exists among all these treatises, the Sútras, the Mahayasa Sútras, and the Mahaváipalaya Sútras, announces at the first glance great similarities. The examination of the texts, however, does not fully bear out this presumption. A Súra of the fuller or developed class is, as regards its form, a true, and real Súra, it

commences and terminates with the same formula, and is, as the simple Sūtra, written in prose, with a more or less numerous intermixture of versified passages. It is moreover dedicated to the explanation of some one or other point of doctrine, and the legends are also subservient to example and authority. But here ends the resemblance, and numerous differences will be found, which are of such importance as to render the classification of these two kinds of Sūtras in the same category improper.

A simple Sūtra as written in prose, a developed one in prose mixed with verses, and the poetical portion, is merely a repetition of what is written in prose in another form.

If these observations are true, we have a certain character by which to divide the Sūtras into two classes, the first containing Sūtras in the strict sense of the word, which are the most simple and probably the most ancient; the second comprehending the Sūtras of fuller development, which are more complicated, and therefore more modern.

To this character is added another which separates, as regards the form, the simple from the great Sūtras. The verses introduced into the former, do not differ in language from the body of the same treatise written in prose; verse and prose are both Sanscrit, while the poetical parts of the developed Sūtras are either written in an almost barbaric Sanscrit, or confounded with forms of all ages, Sanscrit, Pali and Pracrit.

The Buddhist compositions of the North are not written in the epic style, the noble and at the same time simple style of the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārat, nor in the rich and coloured language of the drama, nor also in the monotonous idiom of the Puranas, nor lastly in the compact, though a little obscure, prose of the commentators. Their style differs from all of them. The Sanscrit words have often acquired new acceptations. The language of the Buddhists has followed the march of their ideas; and as their conceptions in a marked degree, differ from those of the Brāhmins, so their style is very different from the learned language of the latter.

p. 105. The simple Sūtras have also not the fastidious developments of the longer ones. There Buddha is generally placed in a central town of India, in the midst of an assembly of the religious, met to hear his preaching, and this assembly is sometimes increased by a multitude of gods; in the great Sūtras, however, the assembly consists of an exag-

gerated number of religious men and women, of gods of all classes, and of Bódhi-sattwas, while in the simple Sútras these latter never make their appearance.

p. 120. The idea of one or more *superhuman* Buddhas, and of Bódhi-sattwas, created by them, is as foreign to these books, as that of an Adhibuddha, or of a god.

p. 121. With all the attention I have bestowed on the simple Sútras, I cannot discover the least trace of that vast mythological machinery, where the imagination luxuriates through infinite spaces in the midst of gigantic forms and numbers. I have only found Buddhas, who are considered human beings, and of whom Sákya is the last, and I have not even found a passage in which the qualification of human Buddhas was not given them, while the conception of a Buddha, who should not be a man, having attained the highest degree of holiness, is beyond the circle of ideas, forming the foundation of simple Sútras. In one word, the Buddhas, previous to Sákya, have by no means the divine character of the Buddhas of contemplation, they are men as himself, the sons of Bráhmans or of kings.

p. 128. The simple Sútras illustrate a very important point in the history of Buddhism, viz. its connexion with Bráhmanism, on which point the merely speculative treatises preserve an almost complete silence. This circumstance alone suffices to establish the opinion, that these Sútras were composed, when both religions were contemporaneous, in the same way as the presence of Buddhist anchorites in several Bráhminical dramas, proves the dramas to be written at a time, when followers of Buddha were still in India. The study of the Sútras, considered under this point of view, affords a new confirmation in favour of the opinion, according to which I place these monuments nearest to the preaching of Sákya.

It solves moreover in the most decisive manner a question, the discussion of which has been lately renewed, viz. of the comparative antiquity of Bráhmanism and Buddhism, on the ground, that most epigraphic monuments in India belong to Buddhism, (page 129,) and not to Bráhmanism. Without entering into an examination of these monuments, which, I must say, are not yet studied with sufficient attention and critical discretion, I observe, that from the existence of ancient Buddhist inscriptions in Pali, and even from the priority of these inscrip-

tions to Bráhmānic monuments of the same class in Sanscrit, it may be inferred, not that the Pali is prior to the Sanscrit, which is impossible, not that Buddhism is prior to Bráhmānism, which it is not less impossible, but that the regard for history and historical proceedings has been earlier displayed amongst the Buddhists than amongst the Bráhmans. What more can, however, now be adduced in the presence of the formal evidence of the sacred texts of Nepal, in which the whole Bráhmānic society with its religion, castes and laws appears? Can it be pretended, that the society the existence of which is borne out by these books, was originally Buddhist, and that the Bráhmans, who afterwards became its masters, have borrowed from it certain elements to which they gave the form, in which we find them in the laws of Manu, or in the time of the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata? Or rather, is it imagined, that the names of the gods and the Bráhminical castes, of which the Sútras are full, have been introduced all at once? And if so by whom? By the Buddhists perhaps, to give themselves the honour of superiority, or at least of equality with regard to the Bráhmans, which they could not retain in India; or perhaps by the Bráhmans to assign their existence to a much more ancient epoch than it really was? In the first place, as if the compilers of the Buddhist books could have had any object in showing Buddhism separating itself from Bráhmānism, unless the Bráhmānism had existed in their time; or in the second place, as if they would have allowed the Bráhmans to bring in by stealth their abhorred name among the names of Sákya and his disciples. We cannot escape the following alternative: The Sútras, attesting the existence of the Bráhminical society, are either written about the period of Sákya, or a long time afterwards. If the first, the society, which they describe, must have existed, because one cannot conceive for what purpose they should have given all the detail of a society, which did not exist, at the time of Sákya; if the second, one cannot better understand, why the gods and Bráhminical personages occupy there so vast a place, because a long time after Buddha, Bráhmānism was totally separated from Buddhism, and they had then only one common territory, that of polemical discussion and of discussion with the sword. Mr. Burnouf does not enter into all the indications which prove, that at the period when Sákya traversed India to teach his law, the Bráhminical society had approached its acme, but he notes two points, its religion and its political organisation.



The gods, whose names appear in the Sûtras, are Náráyana, Siva, Varuna, Kuvéra, Brahmá, or Pitamáha, Sakra or Vásava, Hari or Janárdana, and Samkara, which is only another name for Siva, and Viswakarman. After them a number of inferior gods are mentioned, as the Dévas, Nagas, Asuras, Yakshas, Garudas, Kinnaras, Mahóragas, Gandhavas, Pisachas, Dánavas, and other good or evil genii. At the head of the secondary deities figures Indra, generally under the name of Sakra, or Sachípati, the husband of Sachi. His name is most frequently of all found in the Sûtras and legends. There he generally appears before Sákya, with whom he has frequent conversations, and receives the name of Kaúsika, which title he has also in the Upanishads. His name figures with that of Upéndra, one of the most ancient epithets of Vishnu, even in the initiary formula, by which the legend expresses that an ascetic is come to the degree of an Arhat. The formula runs thus: "He becomes one of those who deserve that the Dévas with Indra and Upéndra, respect, honour and salute them."

All these divinities are those of the people, in the midst of which Sákya lives with his ascetics. They are on the part of all castes the objects of a constant and exclusive worship. Their power is not considered absolute by the Buddhists, but inferior to that of Buddha.

p. 134. The evidence adduced goes far to show the connexion of the popular deities of India with the founder of Buddhism. It is evident, that Sákya found their worship already existing. He could pronounce, and the authors of the legends believe, that a Buddha, even in this life has a superior power even to the greatest gods, although he has not created them.

The only support, which he could find in the minds of the people, was the universal belief, that great holiness is necessarily accompanied with super-natural faculties; but this was an immense support, and gave him the means of bringing to bear in justification of his mission the belief of bygone ages; this belief, however, is not exclusively divine, in its application; the Buddha was, as all other beings, involved in the eternally moving circle of transmigration; he had traversed several existences in the bodies of animals, of condemned persons, of men and of gods, having been alternately virtuous and criminal, rewarded and punished, but accumulating gradually merits which rendered him agreeable to

the Buddhas under whom he lived, and secured him their benediction. We then observe, that in this system Sákya takes every thing from himself and from the grace of a prior Buddha, whose origin is no more divine than his own. The gods are beings of a power infinitely superior to man, but also subject to the fatal law of transmigration.

It remains to examine, first the extent and the nature of what the Buddhists have borrowed from the Bráhmans.

I quote as a single example of the results which may be expected from the study of the Sútras, that I have not found in the treatises of the Divya Avadána, the name of Krishna. The circumstance, that the name of Krishna does not occur in any of the treatises which I read, is in accordance with other signs, which show, that the religion, then existing in India, was different from that recorded in the Puranas.

The Sútras appear to me coetaneous with an epoch, when the Védas and the legends connected with them, formed the foundation of the religious belief in India. I do not support my opinion alone by the mentioning of the Védas, which is made on almost every page of the Sútras, but much more by the part which Indra, the hero of the Védas, plays in the Sútras, as he appears more frequently in the Sútras than all the other gods together.

The details given by the Sútras on the condition of Indian society at the period of Sákya's preaching, are still more numerous and important than those relating to religion.

p. 138. India was at that time subject to the reign of the castes, which were those of the Bráhmans, Ksattriyas, Váisyas, Sudras and Chándálas, not to mention some subdivisions of the inferior classes. The names of the castes are quoted every moment, and their existence is so well established, that it is admitted by Sákya himself and by his disciples, and does not become an object of special observation, unless it is made an obstacle to the preaching of the Buddha. The Bráhmans appear most frequently, and their superiority over the other castes is uncontested. They distinguish themselves by their knowledge and their love of virtue. Some, arrived at the rank of Rishis, live in the midst of woods or in the caverns of mountains. They submit themselves to severe penances, recite the Bráhminical Mantras and teach them to their disciples. Their sciences are the four Védas, and the practice of sacrifice.

Some Bráhmans are employed by the Kings as Puróhitas, or family priests, others as panegyrist to praise the Kings, for which they received presents.

The Ksatrya caste also existed at the time of Sákya, from which caste the Kings emanated.

140. The superiority of the two higher classes is generally acknowledged. They appear to have favoured the mission of Buddha; but not so all the Kings of central India; the King of Rajagriha persecuted him for a long time.

The Kings of the Ksatrya caste were in possession of an unlimited power, and it appears that no other obstacle was opposed to their will but the privileges of the castes. The ministers of some encouraged despotism by the most violent advices. The King of Kousala wanted money. His two ministers told him,—It is the same with a country as with grain of sesamum which does not give oil, unless pressed.

The King of Kousala gave on mere suspicion of enmity towards him, the order to cut off his brother's hands and feet. The existence and perpetuity of the castes depends, according to the Sútras, on a double condition, the one for each to marry a wife of his own caste, the other to maintain his hereditary profession.

Sákya's doctrine, which according to the Sútras is more moral than metaphysical, at least in its principle, was founded upon an opinion, which was considered as a fact, and on a hope, presented as a certitude. It is the opinion, that the visible world is in a perpetual change, that death succeeds life, and life death, that man, like every thing surrounding him, is passing through an eternal circle of transmigration, that he successively passes through all the forms of life, and that his place in the scale of living creatures depends on the merits of his acts in this world. The hope held out by Sákya, is the possibility to escape the law of transmigration, by entering into the state of Nirwáná, that is annihilation. The definitive sign of annihilation is death; but a preliminary sign was given in this life to the man destined for this supreme deliverance; this was the possession of an unlimited science, which gave him a clear insight into the world; that is, gave him the knowledge of the moral and physical laws, or to say all in one word, it was the practice of the six transcendent perfections, viz. of alms, of morals, of science, of energy, of patience, and of charity. The authority, on which Sákya-múni based his mission, was entirely personal, and consisted of two elements, the one

real, the other ideal. The first was the regularity and holiness of his conduct, of which chastity, charity, and patience form the principal characteristics, the other his pretension to be a Buddha, and as such to possess superhuman science and power. He lastly presented himself as the saviour of mankind, and promised, that his doctrine would not be annihilated by his death, but would last a long series of centuries, and that another Buddha would appear to perpetuate it, if its influence should decrease. This is according to my view the most simple and primitive form, under which Sákya's doctrine is presented. Sákya-múni presented himself in the midst of a society, thus constituted, as one of the ascetics, who since the most ancient times traversed India, preaching morality, and the more respected by society, the more they appeared to condemn it; he even entered religious life, by placing himself under the tutelage of the Bráhmans. When he had learned from his teachers all their knowledge, Sákya as all other ascetics, subjected himself to severe mortifications, and at first he did not distinguish himself from other ascetics of Bráhminical race. It is also evident, that the philosophical opinion, by which he justified his mission, was partaken of by all classes of society; all classes believed in the fatality of transmigration, the adjudgment of rewards and punishments, and at the same time in the difficulty of escaping altogether the changing condition of a relative existence. As far as this point he was in no opposition to Bráhminical society. Philosopher and moralist, he believed the greater part of the truths admitted by the Bráhmans, but he dissented from them, when the consequences deducible from these truths and the condition of salvation came into question.

The means which Sákya employed to convert the people to his doctrine, were preaching, and according to the legends, miracles. The preaching is a means, worthy of attention, and is, I believe, never heard of before the mission of Sákya.

I have already in the first portion of this work insisted upon the difference of the Buddhist instruction from that of the Bráhmans. The difference especially appears in the preaching, the effect of which was to bring home to the common understanding all the truths, which were previously the property of the privileged classes. It (the preaching) gives Buddhism a character of simplicity, and under a literary view, of mediocrity, which distinguishes it from the very profound manner of instruction of the Bráhmans. It explains, how Sákya was induced to receive into the



number of his hearers, men who were rejected by the more elevated classes of society ; it accounts for the success, with which his doctrine was propagated and his disciples multiplied ; lastly, it reveals the secret of the radical modifications which the propagation of Buddhism must produce in the Bráhmancial constitutions, and of the persecutions which apprehension of changes necessarily brought down upon the Buddhists, when they should become powerful enough to endanger a political system, principally founded on the existence and perpetuity of castes. These facts are so intimately connected with each other, that the presence of the first (viz., the admission of the hitherto excluded classes) suffices to develop gradually the others as a matter of course. But external circumstances may have favoured this development ; the mind may have been more or less well prepared ; the moral condition of India in one word may have favoured the ardour of the people to hear the instruction of Sákya. It is this, which one can learn alone from the Sútras.

I have before observed, that the second means for conversion was the splendor of his miracles. With this means always correspond the sentiments of benevolence and of belief, which are awakened within the hearers by the influence of his virtuous actions in his former existences. It is therefore a favourite theme of the legendists ; and in fact, there is not one conversion recorded, which had not been prepared by the benevolence, felt by the hearer for the Buddha and his doctrine. This virtue of the Buddha, or to name it more clearly, this kind of grace, was the great motive for conversions, which would be otherwise perfectly inexplicable, it was the knot, by which Sákya connected the new religious light introduced by his doctrine, with an unknown state of past existences which he explains in favour of his preaching. It may be easily understood, what influence such a means must have exercised upon the minds of a people, among which the belief in the law of transmigration was firmly established. In starting from this belief, upon which he founded the authority of his mission, Sákya appeared rather to explain the past than to change the present : and it cannot be doubted, that he made use of it to justify the conversions, which the prejudices of the higher castes, to which he belonged by birth, condemned. But this motive of grace is entirely religious, and it is one of those, the employment of which the legendists have undoubtedly exaggerated, and must have exaggerated, when Buddhism had afterwards acquired an import-

ance, which it certainly had not at the time of Sákya. Motives more human have probably influenced the minds, and favoured the propagation of a creed, the first steps of which looked like only one of the sects, which have been at all times so numerous in India. These motives are individual and general.

While Buddhism attracted the ignorant Bráhmans, it collected at the same time the poor and the unfortunate men of all conditions. A great and sudden misfortune was often a decisive motive to abandon the world and to become a Buddhist ascetic, so were also the despotism of the kings, and the fear inspired by their violence, and lastly, the greatness of rewards which Sákya promised to them, who embraced his doctrine.

The second class of the Nepal works, which bears the general title of Vinaya, or discipline, is represented by the Avadánas or legends. What has been before observed of the Sútras, also applies to the Avadánas. There are some among them which speak of Sákya alone and his first disciples, and these are the most ancient; there are others, which, while relating events that happened to Buddha, mention the names of persons, who lived a long time after him, as for instance, Asóka; there are, lastly, some written in verse, which must be considered as modern amplifications of more or less ancient works.

Another analogy between the Sútras and Avadánas is, that the discipline in the Avadánas is equally as far from a strictly dogmatical explanation as the ethics and metaphysics in the Sútras. The Sútras, says Mr. Burnouf, treat ethics and metaphysics not systematically, because they ascend to a remoter epoch, when those two elements of every religion had not yet obtained their full maturity, or to say it more precisely, they reproduce the various and easy style of Sákya, who did not expound, but simply preach. This is also the case with the Avadánas. The discipline has here no formal regularity, because they belong to the same period as the Sútras, and Sákya did not require the measured steps of a didactic exposition to establish a point in discipline.

To become a disciple of Buddha, it was sufficient to believe in him, and to declare to him the firm resolution to become his follower. The neophyte was then to shave his hair, to use as garb a kind of tunica and a cloak, made of yellow rags, and to place himself under the instruction of an older believer.

In the commencement of his preaching, however, when the number of his disciples was inconsiderable, Sákya instructed himself his neophytes. The investiture gave his followers the character of religious mendicants; for after the obligation to observe the law of chastity, the most binding was to live on public charity alone. From the life of privation, to which his followers had to submit, they received the title of Sramanas, or ascetics, who subdue their senses, a title which Sákya bore himself, (both these titles, mendicants and ascetics, were borrowed from the Bráhmans, who, however attached a different sense to them.)

The first of all conditions, which those who wanted to become his disciples, had to fulfil, was belief; and this being found satisfactory, all others might be dispensed with. Excluded from his assembly were persons, affected with incurable diseases (as lepers) or with gross defects of the body; criminals, as the parricide, the murderer of his mother or of an Arhat; persons who had created dissensions among the religious, or who had committed one of the four great crimes of the Bráhmans; persons under the age of 20 years, who had not the authority of their parents; slaves who might be reclaimed by their masters; debtors, who might be prosecuted for debt. No person could be admitted by a single follower, but he was to be examined and received by the whole assembly. The legends inform us, that Sákya conferred on the assembled body of the religious the office of receiving novices, and investing them when prepared, and also, that he appointed two chiefs of the assembly.

The different classes of persons, composing the assembly, of which Sákya was the chief, were as follow. First, the mendicants; to them corresponded a body of female ascetics, the admission of whom was guided by the same regulations. They had also to submit to the same obligations, enjoined by the law of discipline, viz. to the observance of perpetual chastity, and to the duty of supporting themselves by begging. These ascetics of both sexes compose the body of the assembly; a degree lower are placed the Upásakas and Upasikás, that is to say, the devotees, or more generally, the believers, who professed to believe in the truth, revealed by Sákya, without having assumed the life of an ascetic. Mr. Burnouf believes, that this institution was not introduced until after the death of Sákya. I do not think, he says, that Sákya-muni would from the commencement of his preaching have divided his assembly in Bhikhus (mendicants) and

Upasákas, (devotees) of both sexes. The external organization of Buddhism like its metaphysics, must have rather passed through numerous degrees in consolidating itself, before it attained the state in which we find it among nations, a long time converted to Buddhism. The books of Nepal even allow us to watch the progress of this organization, which commences indeed from a small germ. Sákya has first five disciples, who soon desert him, when their master, exhausted from long fasting, has broken the vow of abstinence. The number of his disciples gradually increases; kings, Bráhmans, merchants, join them to hear the word of their master. These are the Upásakas, the assistants, at a later period the true devotees.

Still the ascetics alone formed the assembly of Sákya; it is therefore called in the texts "the assembly of the mendicants." The term San-gha implies a double relation, first of all the religious with the Buddha, and secondly, of the religious with each other. As regards the principle, the only bond, which unites them with their master and with each other, is the common submission to his word. Having received from Sákya the knowledge of the fundamental truths and the title of ascetic, they live in all other points differently, some in the solitude of woods and mountains, others in deserted houses, others in forests near villages or towns, which they leave only to procure their subsistence by begging.

Several circumstances, related in the legends and Sútras, go far to show the commencement of this organization. While Sákya lived, it was natural, that his disciples should attach themselves to his person. Not all the religious, however, lived in solitary places, and even those who had chosen this kind of life, left it sometimes to hear the Buddha. At the approach of the rainy season the ascetics could give up the vagrant life of mendicants, and were allowed to retire to fixed abodes. Then they dispersed to reside with Bráhmans or house-holders, favourably disposed towards them, and occupied themselves with explaining the truths of their belief, or with studying and meditating on the points of their doctrine, with which they were less familiar. This was called staying during the rains (Varsha). When the Varsha expired, they again met, and formed a real religious assembly. All conspires to establish the opinion, that this usage was introduced by Sákya himself or his first disciples. This is one of the circumstances, which favoured the organization of the religious as a



regular body. One of the first results was the establishment of Viháras, or monasteries, situated in forests or gardens, where the religious assembled to assist in the preaching of their master. These Viháras, however, were at first not establishments, to which the ascetics retired for their whole life; on the contrary, they first were only places for temporary sojourn, or according to etymology, places where they sojourned, and the origin of the term is expressed in the very formula, which commences every Sútra, "At a certain time Sakya sojourned (*viharati sma*) at such or such a place." The principal destination of the Viháras, second only to their being intended as asylums for the religious, was to receive travelling ascetics and foreigners. There undoubtedly is a great distance between this almost pastoral state of Buddhism and the flourishing condition, in which Fahian found it in the fourth century A. C. in the rich Viháras and hermitages; but between both periods nearly nine centuries are intervening. However great the difference may be between these two conditions of Buddhism, it is evident, that the second must have soon resulted from the first. Indeed, the ascetics having obtained fixed abodes, their mutual connection must have become closer, and owing to this circumstance, their body have become better organized and therefore more compact than that of the Bráhmínical ascetics. With this material fact there was combined the necessity of resisting the attacks of their adversaries. This made them sensible of the expediency of forming an association, which afterwards might be easily changed into a monastic institution. The religious assembly once established, a hierarchy must have soon formed itself to maintain order. Thus we see in all legends the Bhikchus taking rank according to their age and merit. In the assembly rank depended upon age, and the principal ascetics had the name of Sthavira (in Pali Thera) elders, who occupied in the assembly the first rank after Sákyá. The Sthaviras were again divided into elders and elders of the elders. Merit also distinguished the ranks, and the author even thinks, that an incontestable superiority was only assigned to him, who combined merit with the privilege of seniority.

Aryas, venerable, were called those, who had comprehended the four sublime truths, the fundamental axioms of the Buddhist doctrine, viz. 1, there exists pain; 2, all that is born in this world, suffers pain; 3, it is necessary to liberate ourselves from it; and 4, knowledge alone offers the means of this deliverance. The title of Arya was one of the highest obtainable; beside the knowledge of those truths, it required the possession

of supernatural faculties, and was given to the first and most eminent disciples of the Buddha. They are not called so according to their seniority as the Sthaviras, but owe this title to their virtues, superior faculties, and the perfections, by which they are free from the common conditions of human existence. Other titles were Sróta apannas, Sakridá gámins, Anágámins, and Arhats. We cannot follow the author into the learned discussion, by which he endeavours to establish the meaning of those terms, but notice here only the result, that the first three appear to be derived from future states, promised to all believers by the word of the Buddha, while Arhat is a state, which a person can only obtain by superior knowledge, after having embraced religious life, and the consequence of which is the possession of the five supernatural faculties.

To sum up with the author. The assembly of Sákyā, or what is the same, the body of the religious followers of his doctrine, was composed of Bhikchus, or mendicants, who also called themselves Sramanas, or ascetics, and among whom the seniors assumed the name of Sthaviras, or elders. The first two titles were so to say absolute denominations, while in relation to other members of Indian society, the religious named themselves Aryas, or honourable, and in relation to their master, Sravakas, or hearers. Among these latter were distinguished the Mahasravakas, or great hearers. By applying the denominations of Sróta Apanna, Sakrid Agámin and Anágámin to the believers, we must admit, that the advantages promised to those who were defined by these titles, were not withheld from the true followers, but these advantages, which could only be realized in a future life, did not constitute degrees of rank in the hierarchy. The only title of this kind is Arhat, or venerable, denoting an ascetic, superior to the other Bhikchus, on account of his knowledge and supernatural faculties, so that in fact, with the exception of synonymes and some minor varieties, just alluded to, there are only two classes of hearers, the Bhikchus and the Arhats.

A very remarkable institution, which belongs even to the time of Sákyā, is that of confession. Firmly established in the most ancient legends, it is easily recognised as one of the fundamental institutions of the Buddhist faith. The fatal law of transmigration attaches reward to good actions and punishment to bad actions, it even establishes the compensation of the one by the other, by offering to the sinner the means of liberating himself from its effects by the practice of virtue.

This is the origin of expiation, which holds such prominent place in the Bráhmínical law. This theory is passed by in Buddhism, which takes it as a fact with so many other elements of Indian society; but here it assumes a particular form, by which its practical application is considerably modified. The Buddhist believes with the Bráhmaṇ, that bad actions may be compensated by good ones; but as he does not believe any more in the moral efficacy of tortures and punishments, the expiation has returned to its principle, that is to say, to the feeling of repentance, and the only form which it receives in practice, is confession.

Among the principal duties of the ascetic were the obligation to take his meal together with those who lived in the same monastery, and the commandment, never to refuse his guest any assistance he required. The latter commandment, though based on the beautiful idea of the Orientals, as regards hospitality, had taken a peculiar application with the Buddhists. By a predilection for moral sentiments, they introduced these ideas into the religious life, which they always represent as the ideal of the life of man in this world. Hence appears the real character of Buddhism as a doctrine, where the practice of morality is the supreme law, and distinguishes it from Bráhmínism, where on the one hand philosophical speculation, and on the other, mythology, occupies so conspicuous a place. Hence Buddhism also bears witness to its being posterior to Bráhmínism. If moral systems are indeed subsequent to ontological theories, which is positively proved by the history of Greek philosophy, Buddhism is necessarily, and to say so genetically, posterior to Bráhmínism.

The worship of Buddhism is most simple. A religion, says the author, without many dogmas has only a simple form of worship, and nothing in fact is simpler than that of the Buddhists. It is evident *a priori*, that Sákya attached little importance to such a form, and the Sútras give evidence, that he valued much higher the discharge of the moral duties than the practice of religious ceremonies.

The religious ceremonies consisted in offering flowers and perfumes, which was accompanied with the noise of instruments and the recital of hymns and pious prayers. There were no bloody sacrifices. The worship is in fact not addressed to One God, or to a number of divine beings, invented by the imagination of the Bráhmans; it has only two objects, the representation of the figure of Sákyaṃuni, and the buildings enshrining a part of his bones. An image and relics, this is the whole

worship of the Buddhists. Hence it is easily understood, why the legends are so much occupied with the physical beauty of Sákya. The Buddhists attribute, as is generally known, to the founder of their doctrine, the possession of the 32 characteristics of beauty and 80 secondary signs. The image of Buddha is not, as those of Siva or Vishnu, an exaggerated number of attributes, but simply of a man, seated in the attitude of meditation, or making the sign of preaching. This image, with the exception of inconsiderable differences, is invariably the same.

Here must, however, be considered the modifications which Buddhism underwent in the course of time. The worship indeed has not changed much; but new objects of adoration are associated with the image of Sákya. In more ancient time these must have been the statues of the four Buddhas, previously to Sákya; in more modern times the images of the five Dhyáni Buddhas and the Bódhisattwas, known from the exact drawings of Mr. Hodgson; but on the whole, the type is the same, viz. of a man who meditates and instructs.

The second objects are the relics, which have the significant name of Saríra (body.) This application of the term is entirely foreign to the language of the Bráhmans. It is the body of Sákya himself, adored in the relics. They were collected on the funeral pile, where his mortal remains were consumed, and according to the tradition, enclosed in eight cylinders of metal, over which the same number of monuments, called Cháityas, were raised. The monuments still extant in India, corroborate most satisfactorily this tradition. From Clemens of Alexandria, who speaks of the venerable sages adoring a pyramid, under which the bones of a god were entombed, to Fahian, the Chinese traveller, to General Ventura, who in our time first opened these topes, the uninterrupted tradition of seventeen centuries confirms the existence, and even the destination of these monuments.

But here we must pause, being afraid to have already trespassed upon the indulgence of the reader, and at the same time feeling unable to do justice in so short a sketch as this to the third part of the work, in which the author enters into the intricacies of the metaphysical tenets of the Buddhists, and introduces us to their various schools. We only observe, that it is full of important results, and that Mr. Burnouf by discovering in one of the MSS. the names of the Buddhist schools, as they occur in the controversial writings of the Bráhmans, has supplied the link, which appeared to be lost, between the historic philosophy of the Bráhmans and Buddhists.



In taking leave of the author with the hope, that he may soon be able to complete his important work, we conclude with expressing the wish, that it may contribute to revive the zeal for similar enquiries here in India. May it warn us that by collecting the Sanscrit and Pali MSS. from all parts of India, we may still open new sources to the learned, may it warn us, that there still are ancient architectural monuments, which are not sufficiently explored, and which may perhaps but for a short time longer, invite us to preserve the records which they have for centuries offered to the enquirer.

*On the genuine character of the Horá Sástra, as regards the use of Greek terms.* By J. MUIR, Esq., C.S.

In the "Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes," part 2nd, of the 4th volume, page 302, et seq. there is a translation of an article, from the translations of the Literary Society of Madras,\* by Mr. C. M. Whish, on the origin and age of the Indian Zodiac, with remarks by Mr. Lassen. Mr. Whish's paper is written to prove the derivation of the Hindu Zodiac from the Greek Astronomers, and in pursuance of this object, he quotes from a Sanskrit Astrological work, called the Horá Sástra, a verse in which the names of the different signs of the Zodiac are evidently of Greek origin. Mr. Lassen in his remarks on Mr. Whish's paper, subjoined to the translation, expresses a doubt of the Horá Sástra being a genuine work of the ancient Astronomer Varáha Mihira; and, (in the absence of the original works, to which he had not access,) refers to Mr. Colebrooke's account of that writer's works, in which no mention is made of the Horá Sástra.

Being anxious to ascertain the age and genuineness, or otherwise, of the Horá Sástra, according to the idea of the Astrological Pundits at Benares, I sent a copy of the Slokes quoted from that work in Mr. Whish's paper to Bapu Deo Sástri, (an enlightened young man, an élève of the late Mr. L. Wilkinson, and now Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Government College at Benares.†) He at once recog-

\* Part I. London 1827, pp. 63—77.

† Bapu Deo is an excellent Astronomer and Mathematician, well read in the Hindu system; and in the European, advanced as far as the Calculus, and daily adding to his knowledge. He has written a Treatise on Algebra, on the European system, in Sanskrit and Hindi.

nized the verses as being from the *Vrihat Játaka*, which is mentioned in Mr. Colebrooke's Dissertation on the Algebra of the Hindus (Essays, Vol. II. p. 478,) as the work of Varaha Mihira. He also brought me a printed copy of this work from the press of Madhab Ram, Calcutta, which I forward by Bhanga for the Society's inspection, though it is probably already in your Library. So far therefore as the authority of Mr. Colebrooke, (who fixes the date of Varaha Mihira at the close of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century of our Era) is conclusive; and so far as the occurrence of the sloke in question in the modern copy of the work is admitted as a proof of its having been there from the commencement; we have evidence for these Greek terms being known to the Hindu astrologers from the beginning of the 6th century.

For the satisfaction of the curious, I quote the sloke containing the Greek names, and subjoin the Greek originals as given by Mr. Lassen from Mr. Whish's paper. The names differ a good deal in Madhab Ram's printed copy from those given by Mr. Lassen.

क्रिय ताबुरि जितुम कुलीर लेय पाथेय जूक कोर्प्याख्याः ।  
तौक्षिक आकोकिरो हृद्रोगश्चान्त्यं भं चेत्थ ॥

Sanskrit Names, as given in Madhub Ram's printed Copy.	Sanskrit Names, as given by Mr. Whish, as quoted by Lassen.	Original Greek terms, as given by Whish in Lassen.
1. Kriya, ....	Kriya, ....	ΚΡΙΟΣ.
2. Táburī, ....	Tavuru, ....	ΤΑΥΡΟΣ.
3. Jituma, .. .	Juthuma, ....	ΔΓΔΥΜΟΣ.
4. Kulíra, ....	Kulíra, ....	ΚΑΡΚΙΝΟΣ.
5. Léya, ....	Léya ....	ΓΕΩΝ.
6. Pátheya, ....	Parthóná, ....	ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ.
7. Júka, ....	Juka, ....	ΖΥΓΟΣ.
8. Korp̄ya, ....	Kórp̄ya, ....	ΣΚΟΡΠΙΟΣ.
9. Taukshika. ....	Taukshika, ....	ΤΟΞΟΘΗΣ.
10. Akókéró, ....	Akókéró, ....	ΑΙΓΟΚΕΡΩΣ.
11. Hridróga, ....	Hridoga, ....	ΥΔΡΟΧΟΟΣ.
12. Bham (a San- skrit word ap- parently). ....	Ithusi, ....	ΙΧΘΥΣ.

The 4th word, Kulíra (कुलीरः) however, appears to be pure Sanskrit.

In addition to the Greek words above enumerated, the following occur in the verses quoted in Mr. Whish's paper, viz.

Heli,	"Ἡλιος,	The Sun.
Heman,	'Ερμης,	Mercury.
A'ro,	"Αρης,	Mars.
Kónó,	Κρονος,	Saturn.
A'sphujit,	'Αφροδίτη,	Venus.
Jyók,	Ζευς,	Jupiter.

For Iyok, however, Mádhav Ram's edition reads Iyau: and Bapu Deo says it should be Ilyau, making with the preceding word (according to the rules of Sandhi, or combination of letters) *Vachasámpatijyau*, (वचसांपतिज्यौ), being two names for Jupiter, but both pure Sanskrit.

Mr. Colebrooke, had previously pointed out the following words which occur in Hindu astrological or arithmetical works, as being of Greek origin, viz: **होरा** (Hóra;) **द्रेष्काण** (dreshkána) (δεκανός;); **लिप्ता** (Liptá) (λεπτά) a minute of a degree; **केन्द्र** (Kendra) (κέντρον.) He also instances, ("on a hasty glance over the Indian treatises on horoscopes,") *anapha*, *sunapha*, *durudhara*, and *kemadruma*, words "designating certain configurations of the planets," as "not Sanskrit, but apparently barbarian," the affinity of which to terms in other languages had not been traced. (Essays, vol. 2, p. 529.) The words *anapha*, and *sunapha*, Mr. Lassen derives, with evident probability, from the Greek *ἀναφή*, and *συναφή*. And it should be observed that, though rejecting the testimony of the Horá Sástra, he holds that the use of Greek terms by the Hindu astrologers dates as far back, as Varáha Mihira. The Horá Sástra is, however, as has been shown above, identical with the *Vrihat Jataka*.

I add a list of other foreign terms, pointed out to me by the Sástri, as occurring in the Vrihat Játaka; which denote, he informs me, the different compartments of a Kundali,-or square astrological figure for casting nativities. They are as follows; **रिःफ** (rihpha), **दश्चिकथ** (dushchiktha), **द्यून** (dyúna), **पणफर** Pánaphara), **आपोक्लिम** apóklima qu. *αποκλιμα*, **हिबुक** (hibuka), **जामित्र** (jámitra), **मेघूरण** (mes. húrana) qu. *μεσουράνιον*? **वेशि** (veshi.)

*Azimghur,*

Nov. 13<sup>th</sup>, 1845.

*Account of the Panjkora Valley, and of Lower and Upper Káshkár, by Rajah Khan,\* of Cabool. Translated by Major R. LEECH, C.B., La'e Political Agent, Candahar, at whose request it was drawn up in 1840.*

Panjhora is inhabited by Maleezai Eesafzais, who are divided into two sub-divisions. One extending from the commencement of the valley of Panjkora to Ousheree, called Osai; the other is called Sihsadah. The chief is a Paindah-khel.

Grain is at all times eight times cheaper than at Cabool; fruits are plentiful, as are herds and flocks. There are several iron mines. Merchants from Peshawar frequent the country.

The following are the villages of Panjkora to the west of the river. Shagoolee darrah, Taimoor-galah darrah, Rabat-i-Mahammad khan darrah, Kavanee darrah, Malahkand valley, (darrah) of Tormang, valley of Karoo, Nahag darrah, Ousheeree darrah, Zarakhel darrah, Bor-Ousheeree darrah, Dral darrah.

To the east of the river, the valley of Harhang (shrine of Ghazee Sahab), valley of Shoooh, (river of Bajour falls into the Panjkora).

Baba khels, formerly under Aslam khan, now under Ghazan khan.

Valley of Maidan, valley of Panjkora, valley of Shamoorgurh, valleys of Thankee and Doodba enter this.

Barahwal, under Mahammad Alee khan, (an iron mine here).

Bar Panjkora, Ghundee Chakgatin, Arota Seen (river), Deer, Panakot, Kashkaree, Doobandai, Kheer, dependent on Deer.

These valleys have all streams. One river from Bajour, which is to the west of the Panjkora range, falls into the Panjkora river through the valley of Shoooh. The river of Panjkora runs from north to south.

*Villages of the valley of Shagoolee.* Kazrah, Shahce khels, under Zardad khan; Kotkai, Shahee khels, under Hyder khan; Gadee, Paindah khels, under Sadulla khan, brother of Ghazan khan; Haraon, Shahee khels, under Masoom khan; Shagoolee, Noor khels, under Aiyoob khan.

*Valley of Timoor-galahs.* Timoor-galah Noor khels, under Sardar

\* This man also under my instructions visited most of the Turkistan, states and gained a quantity of information regarding the Siahposh Cafers. His notes are in my possession.

khan ; Khoonkoh, Noor khels, under Mahsin and Ghafar ; Mayan Mandah, Sahabzadahs, under Mahsin and Ghafar ; Datooh, Akhund khels, Charpherah, Nasradeen khels, under Mahammad khan ; Shahr, Nasradeen khels, under Sarwar Myan.

*Valley of Rabat.* Samrai, Paindah khels, under Gul khan ; Rabat, Nasradeen khels, under Muhabat khan ; Kanjalah, Myan khels, under Agha Sahab.

*Valley of Kavnee.* Walkhah, Paindah khels, 1000 houses ; Malakhand, mixed tribes, 1000 houses.

*Valley of Tormang.* Akhqram, Paindah khels, under Agad Rahman ; Doodba, Paindah khels, under Sher Alee.

*Valley of Karoo.* Inhabited by Taroozais and Eesafzais.

*Valley of Nhag.* Nhag-Paindah khels, under Chiragh Shah ; Wade-Paindah khels, under Bazoo ; Jaghakinj, Gadhai khels, under Allaiyar khan ; Darooja-Sultan khels, under Sayad Ameer.

*Valley of Oosheeree.* Oosheeree Sultan khels, under Kaza Abdu Rahman ; Beebeeyawarah Paindah khels, under Abdulla Khan ; Kandeekan, Myan khels, under Sayad Adam, Kakazin, Myan khel ; Jahar-Sultan khels, under Mahammad Hawefa ; Jaharalmas Paindah khels, under Zareef khan ; Tar-pitar Paindah khel, under Hujoom khan.

*Bar Oosheeree Valley.* Oosheeree, Paindah khels, under Awar Shah khan ; Barkand Myan khels, Kareemdad, descendent of Akhund Darveza ; Damazar, Paindah khels, Ahmad khan ; Palam, Paindah khels, Fazal Shah ; Samkot, Paindah khels, Sher Zeman ; Batil Myan khels, Khairulla Myan ; Nashtamil, Goorkhavee, Habeebee, Paidah khels, Myan Nazeem ; Kamangar Noor khels, under Hakeeb.

*Valley of Dral.* Dependent on, and tributary to, Ghazan khan.

*Valley of Hurhang.* Desolate beyond the villages of the Zyarat.

*Valley of Shoooh.* Having villages and gardens on each bank of the Bajour river.

The Baba khels were formerly under their own chief, Aslam khan. Ten years ago, Ghazan khan subdued them.

In the valley of Maidan, is Kheemah Shahee khels, under Baroon, and many other villages. The inhabitants are more formidable than those of the other valleys.

*Valley of Panjkora.* Bar Panjkora, Sultan khels, Sher Alee ; Kooz Panjkora, Sultan khels, Pagal ; Patao, Sultan khels, Mardan.



*Valley of Shamoor Gurh.* Shamoor Gurh, Paindah khels, no chief; Geer, Paindah khels, Allaiyar khan; Amlooknar ryots, Paindah khels; Jublak ryots, Paindah khels.

Barahwal, belonging to Mahammad Alee khan, included in, but not tributary to Panjkora; an iron mine of long existence.

The following villages are marts for merchandize.

Surkhal, Loorkhal, Deer, Barahwal. The chief of this valley of Panjkora is Ghazan khan, son of Kasam khan, son of Zafar khan, son of Ghulam khan, son of Akhund Ilyas, whose descendants are distinguished from other Paindah khels, as Akhund kor, (kor-house.)

Akhund Ilyas, was a holy man who had two sons, Aoob and Ismail, he lived in the time of Aurungzebe.

Aiyoob was a domestic in the household of the governor of Cabool, and after a long period of faithful service, got leave to return to his native country, accompanied by four tradesmen, (one goldsmith, one carpenter, one huntsman and one mason.)

Mulla Ilyas told his sons, he had only one sword, and one kajkol, (vessel in which beggars receive their alms,) to bequeath them, and told them to choose; Ismail chose the kajkol, and his descendants are religious recluses and beggars; Aiyoob chose the sword, and his descendants are rulers.

Kasem khan had three sons, Azad khan, Ghazan khan, and Sadulla khan, their mothers being Eesafzai.

In the time of Shah Mahmood, Azad khan killed his father, in return for which Sadulla khan killed his brother; Ghazan khan, with the assistance of Shah Kater got the country, to this day the same friendship exists with the Chatrar nation.

This year, in the month of Muharam, the brothers had a fight, losing between them twenty-four killed and wounded.

Herds and flocks are not taxed, but three rupees a year is taken from each house.

They are friendly to the Lahore government, and exchange presents.

Just now an elephant has been sent by the Lahore government, and in return they send iron, honey, or hill horses, through Sultan Mahammad khan.

They are continually sending to Peshawar Ceskaree slaves for the governor.

From Oosheeree further to the north they have a measure called *uganee*, equal in weight to three charaks of Panjkora, (five Panjkora seers, four Cabool seers). Animals, sheep, buffaloes, &c. are plentiful and cheap.

In Koonalteer they make yellow soap of oil, where they are all oil pressers. The whole Nobistan as far as Hujkoom is supplied from this.

Panjhora is in length four stages, and in breadth one stage. There are four iron mines, and three of antimony, (white, red, and black).

From Maidan valley to the west, is the road to Bajour. From Barraliwal there is another. From Oosheeree to the east is a road to Swat; from Karoo Darrali to the east, is a road to Swat; from Timurgalah and Katgalah via Talesh to the south-east, is the road to Ashnaghar and Peshawar, a gun-road, the only one into Panjkora. Sultan Mahammad Khan has several times been in it.

Talash is a district of the Goosafzais included in Panjkora, but without the valley, it is very fertile, grain being often exported thence to Peshawar. There are remains of buildings like towers, in which are stones of a cubit length, on which are Greek (?) characters.

The following are the villages of Talash;—Bagh, Shaha khels, Ghulam Shah; Shamsee khan, Shaha khels, Shah Afzal khan, Gumbatee, Shaha khels, Shah Afzal khan, Amlook Darah, ryots.

Muchoo, Noor khels under Ghazan khan; Bajooroo, Noor and Shahee khels. Shah Afzal khan; Kamangar; the inhabitants are all bow-makers, whence the name.

Deer is the boundary of the snow and rain.

The river of Panjkora takes its rise at Laspoor, the commencement of the hilly country of Kashkar.

From Deer to Kashkar, via the Pass of Doobandai, a night is spent in the road.

Kashkar is an extensive fertile country, to the north of Panjkora, thickly inhabited by a prosperous class of people; by religion, Sunnee Mahommadans; their nation is called *Chatrar*.

There are two Kashkars, upper and lower; the lower was under Shah Kator; the upper under Malik Aman formerly; they are now dead, and have been succeeded by their sons, who rule together. They are independent, having their subjects under such subjection as to sell them like animals.

Wheat and rice are plentifully produced. The men dress in two or three choghas of the kind sold in Cabool, and the women dress in a loose garb like the women of Cashmeer.

There are two sons of Shah Kator, one named Mehtar, and the other Tajamal Shah, who is the ruler. The revenue is not fixed,  $\frac{1}{6}$   $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  is taken in kind. They do not take ready money, but barter for Peshawar goods.

Slaves are cheaper at Kashkar than any where else, viz. 100 rupees each (a girl or a boy.) 200 or 300 are yearly exported viâ Dardu and Badakhshan to Turkistan.

The following are the principal towns of Lower Kashkar.

Laspoor, to the east; Daroosh to the north; Dral Pooreet, to the north; Daroosh to the south; Ashreet; Ashreet, to the north; Pooreet to the east; Daroosh; Daroosh is situated in the centre of Kashkar.

Bedloore, to the north; Daroosh, to the south; Hujkoom; Daroosh is the capital of Shah Kator, on the east of the river of Kashkar, on a slight eminence, containing 2000 houses of stone and mud. There is a wooden bridge across the river; most of the villages are to the north, east and west.

Every one within four kos is obliged to have his case settled by the ruler.

The Kashkar language approaches to the Persian. The imports to Kashkar, are salt, which is very valuable, Peshawar cloths, and cheap chintz and pedlary. Iron from Panjkora, goor, medicines, matchlocks, swords, and copper utensils.

The exports from Kashkar are raw silk to Turkistan, known in Cabool as Karah Kashkaree; and Shalakees from two rupees to twenty rupces the piece.

The finest silk is called Poodpat, and the coarsest Narinjpood, and wool choghas from one rupee to twenty rupees, the sleeves of which are larger than the arms, and when on the sleeves are creased.

The slaves are very handsome. They use measures and not weights. They amount to 12,000 matchlockmen, (the matchlocks having a fork rest) and notwithstanding the scarcity of powder and lead, are excellent marksmen.



Ten thousand Kamos Cafers who are situated to the north of Katar and Kampar, pay tribute to Shah Kator; they are very obedient subjects, and, unlike other Kohistances, they do not rob.

Upper Kashkar under Malik Aman, is called Shighnan. The people are Sheeah Musulmans, who know nothing of their sect, beyond the name. They pray and fast with the Sunnecs of lower Kashkar.

The horses are better than in the country of Shah Kator.

The principal places of Shighnan are Mastooj, the capital of Goulhar Aman Padshah, formerly; now under the son of Malik Aman; to the south is Daroosh; to the east Hujkoom; to the south of which is Shootee.

From Daroosh, viâ the Pass of Soori to Mastooj, two nights are spent on the road, infested by Cafers in the summer. The road is a gun-one. Guus can go throughout the country of both Kashkars beyond Daroosh, but up to that the road is difficult for laden horses.

Shighit to the north, and Shighnan to the east, are included in Kashkar, but under a separate rule.

From Shighnan to Shighit are five stages. The Cooner river passes to the west of Mastooj, and takes its rise in the lake of Neel. Beyond Mastooj, water runs to the north.

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*On the Assam Petroleum Beds (in a letter to Major JENKINS, communicated by him.) By Capt. P. S. HANNAY.*

Mr. Piddington having supplied me with a specimen of Asphalte rock from Pyremont, I have taken some trouble in trying to find something of the kind amongst the numerous coal strata and bituminous springs which abound in the neighbourhood of this place, but as yet have not been successful in finding a calcareous Asphalte, which the specimen furnished appears to be, and this may be accounted for, probably, by the absence of anything like a pure limestone rock, existing with the carboniferous strata which is visible.

I have however the pleasure to send you a few specimens of the earthy Asphalte and indurated sandy Asphalte, found in and lying over the Petroleum beds, near a spot which I dare say you recollect as

Nahore Doong, an old Salt Well, situated about two miles from this, on the road to the Naga hills.

About 200 yards on the Jeypore side of this old Salt spring, the road crosses a vein of coal, of considerable thickness, accompanied by several beds of soft sandstone. This road is merely a ravine, which like many others, intersect the low hills here, in different directions, so as to give them the appearance of being distant from the more regular forms of the low range, which rise suddenly from the plain; in fact, many are quite detached, and rise in knolls of some 50 feet high, surrounded on every side by a natural ravine, in which coal, various soft rocks, shells and clays, usually associated with the former substance are seen on regular strata, and also detached pieces of fossil wood, clay iron ore, and exceedingly hard quartz rock. This kind of ground extends for about a mile E. and N. of the coal first mentioned, and I believe there are few ravines in which there is not an appearance of Petroleum, either exuding from under a mass of limestone on a level with the bed of the ravine, or at some height up the slope of the hillocks.

From this locality, or rather at two spots where, from the quantity of Petroleum visible on the surface, they are designated Tel Doong (or Oil-springs) I have taken the specimens now sent, but you must recollect that these are taken from the mere surface, and it is quite possible that a more interesting and valuable formation of the same kind might be found at some depth, particularly as regards the connection of calcareous matter with that from which the Petroleum is thrown up. I mention this, because, from the appearance of the specimens of blue limestone found in the bed of the Dehing River, under the water (it being evident that this river cuts through the whole of the strata before-mentioned) it might be possible to find at the depth of the Dehing bed, inland, a purer limestone than that which is on the surface. However it may be as well to say, that the different strata appear to bend Eastward, and dip to the South towards the high range of Naga mountains, in the lower portions of which there are numerous salt springs, the prevailing rock there being *clay slate*. Nothing like mountain limestone is to be seen, as far as my travels extend, on the Assam side of these mountains: and I have an idea that without some extensive formation of this kind in contact with our carboniferous strata or bitumen springs, we shall fail to find a calcareous

Asphalte like that of Pyremont. Our coal is, I believe, considered to be that of the higher series of secondary rocks, if then we could find bitumen springs at the foot of the high range on N. B. of the Burrampooter, possibly a rock of the description would be found, but this is a question for Geologists to determine.

Jeypore is not the only Petroleum locality in Upper Assam; Borhath, Teroogong, Magawn, Namdeng and Namtehuk Pathar are noted for their earth oil springs. These are all situated in the low range of hills forming the base of that vast range of mountains which, bounding the Kyndwar valley on the West, would appear to run down to Cape Negrais. The first locality to the Westward is close to the Dekho River, south-east of Seesagur; but it is said that amongst the Nagas on the Western branch of this river, salt wells do not exist;\* on the Eastern branch of the river, however, there are many salt wells, and near the source of this branch, in about Lat.  $26^{\circ} 20'$  the mountain range above-mentioned separates from the more western Naga ranges which run towards Cachar. The great Salt, Coal, and Petroleum deposits seem therefore to commence with the east branch of the Dekho, and continued east as far as the Namtehuk river. At Namtehuk Pathar, near the mouth of the river, the Petroleum exudes from the banks, and a bed of very fine coking coal runs across the bed of the Namtehuk. The hills here are also intersected by ravines, and in one spot an extensive basin or hollow is formed at some height, which contains muddy pools in a constant state of activity, throwing out, with more or less force, white mud mixed with Petroleum. This is indeed a strange looking place, and I am told by the Singphos that at times there is an internal noise as of distant thunder, when it bursts forth suddenly, with a loud report, and then for a time subsides. Whether this may be the effect of distillation going on in consequence of the great mass of vegetable matter which lies under the surface, or from some more remote cause connected with volcanic action, it is impossible for me to give an opinion; but from the connection of the Potkae with the Arracan range of mountains, the known existence of mud pools like these, in that

\* This is a mistake, there are salt springs on the banks of the Nambar and Dhunsiri rivers, and it is supposed there are many more, but the Nagas West of the Dekho do not make salt, except at Semkur in very small quantities. By their traffic in cotton they obtain salt perhaps cheaper than they could make it.

Province, and the fact, that the motions of our earthquakes are generally from south to north, I have often thought that during an active state of some of the volcanoes in the Gulf of Martaban, they might affect us here.

The Tel Doongs, or Oil-springs, and probably containing salt, are the resort of the wild animals of the forest, who eat the mud, particularly elephants, buffaloes and deer, and securely placed on a Michong, formed in one of the largest trees overlooking these pools, the Shikarrees of this frontier silently await, in the moonlight nights, the visits of these animals, and with a poisoned arrow fired from a musquet, shoot the largest elephants, which are afterwards tracked down probably for days. If the animal has a fine pair of tusks, the price of these amply repays the trouble and privations suffered in obtaining them;—most of the ivory of the Singpho country is obtained in this manner. The springs in this neighbourhood afford good sport to the Shikarrees of the corps, and many a load of Saumer Deer flesh comes into cantonments, the result of a night's watch at, or an early morning visit to, the Tel Doongs.

No. 1 Basket, contains specimens of soft rock through which the Petroleum rises: the whole mass of substance seems to be impregnated with it; the soil however, is sometimes by itself in fissures and seams, running out as these are cut open. The Nodules are found embedded in regular veins intersecting the soft rock, and more or less oil is found mixed up with them. I have not dug deeper than ten feet into the bed.

No. 2, contains the Earthy Asphalte which is found in considerable quantity, where the Petroleum oozes out, and also adhering to the soft sandstone rock impregnated with, and laying in, the Petroleum bed.

No. 3, contains the indurated sandy Asphalte rock, which I found overlying the spot where Petroleum exudes from under the low hills, of which it is in fact a portion, more or less of the red clayey soil being also impregnated with the bitumen; and the distinguishing feature of the soil of the hills in the Petroleum vicinity, is a peculiar dryness, however wet the weather may be. The soil bears a thick tree jungle, principally of a species of oak, the *acorn*-fruited Hingoorec of these parts. None of the specimens shew the presence of lime, but a hard rock, which effervesces slightly with acid, does not slake when burnt, and flies into splinters when heated, passes through the Petroleum bed; specimens of this limestone I sent to you some years ago, calcined and

pounded. It would, I think, make a cement similar to Parker's, or the Roman cement.

No. 4, contains specimens of a conglomerate containing lime, forming a conspicuous rock a mile from this, directly on the edge of the river on both sides. In connection with this, indeed in some places adhering to its lower surface, as well as in the bed of the river itself at the same place, is the blue rock containing lime; from the quantity of pure carbonate of lime adhering to the surface of one of the pieces, we might reasonably suppose that a rock even purer than the specimens now sent, does exist in the same place; but the depth of the water will, I am afraid, effectually prevent its being worked; what is found of this blue rock however, when burnt carefully, slakes into a very good buff coloured lime, quite fit for building purposes. The conglomerate when burnt, partially slakes, and, when pounded up, forms a very strong cement, well adapted for flooring or roofs, or lining of water tanks, &c. Accompanying these specimens, I have sent a sample of a mixture of Asphalte earth, and pounded unburnt conglomerate fused with a small quantity of the mikai tree rosin, also a few pieces of the clay and ore of the soil of the *hills* of the Petroleum locality: there appears to be too much earth in it; as another trial I have made by covering the top of my boat, has succeeded very well, I do not see why we could not use the earthy Asphalte with success, in covering matting or plank roofs of boats or houses; it deserves a trial certainly.

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*Remarks upon the occurrence of Granite in the bed of the Narbudda.*

*By Capt. J. ABBOTT, B. A. Late Principal Assistant Commissioner, Nimarr.*

In a report upon the Mhahlie Cotton of Nimarr, which I prepared about two years ago, and which, I believe, reached the Asiatic Society, I stated, that the trap stratum of Malwa was not penetrated to its base, even by the river Narbudda, which has mined its bed 1600 feet below the table summit of the Vindhécias.

Some weeks after the despatch of this report, I visited an island of the Narbudda, opposite Mundlaisir, in order to inspect a block of grey granite, which I supposed had been accidentally deposited there.



I found, however, that this mass was in reality the pinnacle of a substratum of granite, which had there, and in several other places, pierced the trap rock; and upon attentive examination of the adjacent strata, there appeared a transition from the close, compact and uniform texture of the black trap to the granulated crystals of the granite. That is, the trap gradually assumed a less homogeneous character, separated into particles slightly blended together, and then into the distinct crystals, characteristic of granite; one stratum being the common grey kind, another the red, and a third the porphyritic, all forming with the horizon angles exceeding, I think,  $75^{\circ}$ . It was my intention to have selected and sent specimens of each transition; but heavy duties, and my subsequent removal from the spot prevented me. Should the Society be curious to see such, I can write to Col. Outram, my successor at Mundlairsir, and beg him to forward specimens.

The fact seems to me of some interest, if only as exhibiting the thickness of the trap and amygdaloidal strata of Malwa, which may thus be plausibly calculated at 1600 feet. The whole scarp of the Vindhécia, forming the Southern limit of the province of Malwa, exhibits an abruptness which savors of disruption of surface, by the elevation of the table land, or the sudden subsidence of the valley of Nimarr. Yet I have never heard of granite occurring in any portion of the section of strata presented by these precipices. A stricter examination of the strata is perhaps requisite to throw light upon the subject.

If in all cases of the appearance of granite immediately beneath trap, the two formations blend their distinctive characters on contact, it might, with some shew of reason, be assumed, that both have been in a state of fusion at one and the same time; and the more complete crystallization of the granite might be referred to the greater pressure under which it parted with its caloric.

*Further Notes respecting the late CSOMA DE KÖRÖS. By Lieut. Colonel  
LLOYD, and A. CAMPBELL, Esq. Superintendent at Darjeeling.*

[The following letters have been kept back from publication owing to circumstances, which need not special detail. I should observe with reference to Lieut. Colonel Lloyd's remark as to the absence of any notice of the deceased scholar's literary labours in the Journal, that No. 124, contains a notice of his personal and literary habits, embodied in a Report as to his death, from Mr. Campbell, with remarks appended by myself. I mention this for the facility of reference.]



With reference to the resolution of the Asiatic Society to place Rs. 1000 at my disposal, for the erection of a monument over the grave of the late Mr. Csoma de Körös, I have the honor to state, that in consideration of the necessary delay and difficulty in procuring a suitable marble monument from Calcutta, I have had a plain pillar of substantial masonry erected to mark the spot, and I purpose placing a simple tablet of stone in the pillar, with the date of his death, his name, and age only, inscribed thereon. This, however, is not wholly the manner in which I wish to see the Society's intentions fulfilled; I am anxious that a marble monument, with a suitable inscription to commemorate the deceased, shall be placed in the Church at Darjeeling, and to enable me to do so for the Society, if the proposal is approved, I request to be furnished with the inscription which the Society may consider the most appropriate.

Since the death of de Körös, I have not ceased to hope, that some member of the Society would furnish a connected account of his career in the East. It is now more than a year and a half since we lost him, yet we are without any such record in the Journal of the Society to shew, that his labours were valuable to the literary association he so earnestly studied to assist in its most important objects, as well as to shew that his labours have been duly appreciated. I know that I am not qualified by knowledge of the language and literature of Thibet, to do justice to the subject, and I have not on that account attempted it; but in the belief that the Society will be better pleased to have an incomplete notice of his labours, than be altogether without one, I have compiled a note of his published contributions to the Asiatic Society on the language and literature of Thibet, which is hereunto annexed. I have also the pleasure to forward a copy of a Biographical sketch of the

deceased by himself, which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society many years ago, and which was corrected by the subject of it before his death. The number of the Journal containing the sketch, with the author's manuscript corrections, is now in my possession, and was, with the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, made over to me, according to the intentions of the deceased, as expressed previous to his illness.

Further, I have the pleasure to forward copy of a summary report of the contents of the Thibetan works in the possession of the deceased in A. D. 1825, which I cannot find has been published. It was forwarded to me by Lieutenant Robinson of Sirsa, in the belief, that as the work of de Körös it would be acceptable to me. If it has not hitherto been published, it will be an interesting addition to the contributions of the author.\* At the time it was written, the European world was almost altogether ignorant of the subject on which it treats; and the author himself had then but a faint glimmering of the light he afterwards shed on it. To admire the zeal, and laborious perseverance, by which he advanced in the ability to interpret the works he then so briefly reported on, and to compare the later elucidations of Thibetan works by the same pen with this his first essay in that line, will be a gratifying task to the admirers of his attainments, and an useful incentive to those who, in the commencement of a laborious study, may doubt their powers of advancing in it to renown and eminence.

From the date of the Biographical sketch (1825) until his death on the 11th of April, 1842, the particulars of the life of Csoma de Körös, are not fully known to me. I believe that he visited Western Thibet from Soobathoo in A. D. 1826, and that he continued to study at the monasteries in that country, living in the poorest possible manner until A. D. 1831, in October, of which year, I met him at Captain Kennedy's house, at Simla. He was then dressed exactly as when I saw him on his arrival at Darjeeling, in March 1842, in a coarse blue cloth loose gown extending to his heels, and a small cloth cap of the same materials, he wore a grizzly beard, shunned the society of Europeans, and passed his whole time in study.

In May 1832, he went to Calcutta, where he lived in the Asiatic Society's Rooms, and had charge of the library until the beginning of

\* Forwarded to the Asiatic Society, in December, 1843.

1836, when his anxiety to visit Lassa, induced him to leave Calcutta for Titalya, in the hope of accomplishing his design, through Bootan, Sikim, or Nipal. Colonel Lloyd, at that time on the Sikim Frontier, has furnished me with the following particulars of the deceased, while at Titalya, and its neighbourhood.

Csoma de Körös, or more correctly, Alexander Csoma (as well as I recollect, without reference to papers which are sent away) came up to me in the beginning of 1836, say January, but it can be easily ascertained, when he quitted the apartments he had in the Asiatic Society's house. He wished to study Bengallee, and I sent him to Julpigoree, where he remained about three months, and being dissatisfied there, returned to Titalya, I think in March; he would not remain in my house, as he thought his eating and living with me would cause him to be deprived of the familiarity and society of the natives, with whom it was his wish to be colloquially intimate, and, I therefore got him a common native hut, and made as comfortable as I could for him, but still he seemed to me to be miserably off; I also got him a servant, to whom he paid three or four rupees a month, and his living did not cost him more than four more. He did not quit Titalya, I think, till the end of 1837, November, and all the time he was there was absorbed in the study of Sanscrit, Maharratta, and the Bengally languages. I think it was in November that he left, purposing to go to Calcutta first, but ultimately he seemed to intend getting into the Ducan; at one time he was intending to travel through the mountains to Cathmandoo, and I am not certain whether he did not apply to Mr. Hodgson for a pass, but he seemed to have a great dread of trusting himself into Thibet, for, I repeatedly urged him to try to reach H'Lassa through Sikim, and he always said such an attempt could only be made at the risk of his life. I am therefore surprised at his after all coming here apparently with that intention, yet he seemed anxious to go to two monasteries in particular, where he said there were large libraries, and one where one or both the large works, the Kagzur and Sangzur, are, he said, printed. I suppose you to be writing something regarding him, therefore I send you the foregoing, which is all I can recollect just now, though could I refer to my papers, I might have been able to say more.

Yours truly,

12th December, 1843.

(Signed) G. W. A. LLOYD.

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I recollect, that Mr. Hodgson had some correspondence with Csoma de Körös during the stay of the latter at Titalya, the subject of which was the possibility of his getting into Thibet, through Nipal; so far as my memory serves me, Mr. Hodgson invited him to come to Cathmandu, but did not give him any hope of being able to penetrate into Thibet, from that city. At that time the deceased was employed in the study of Sanscrit, which he continued with unabated perseverance until his death. When here he told me, that he had lost much valuable time from not having studied the Sanscrit previous to the Thibetan language, the former he said was the key to the whole literature of Thibet. It was on his then knowledge of Sanscrit, that he based enthusiastic hopes of realising the objects of his research. Could he reach Lassa, he felt that the Sanscrit would have quickly enabled him to master the contents of its libraries, and in them he believed was to be found all that was wanting to give him the real history of the Huns, in their original condition and migrations, and to him this was the completion of knowledge, as it was the star that led him on his untiring way of thought and study for 24 years.

In 1838, M. Csoma de Körös was asked by Captain Pemberton to accompany him on his mission to Bootan, but as this did not give him any prospect of reaching Thibet, he declined the invitation, and remained in Calcutta until the beginning of 1842, when he left it for Darjeeling. The power of acquiring languages was the extraordinary talent of M. Csoma de Körös. He had studied the following ancient and modern tongues, and was a proficient in many of them,—Hebrew, Arabic, Sanscrit, Pushtoo, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, German, English, Turkish, Persian, French, Russian, Thibetan, with the addition of Hindoostani, Mahratta, and Bengali. His library at his death had a dictionary of each of the languages he was acquainted with, and on all were his manuscript annotations.

I have, &c.

*Darjeeling, December 12th, 1843.*

(Signed) A. CAMPBELL.

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*Catalogue of contributions to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the language, literature, &c., of Thibet, by the late MR. ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KÖRÖS.*

1. Geographical notice of Thibet, published in vol. 1, of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 4, 1832, Page 122.



2. Translation of a Thibetan Fragment, with remarks by H. H. Wilson, vol. 1, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 7, July 1832, p. 269.
  3. Note on the Kāla Chakea, and Adi-Buddha Systems, vol. 2, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 14, February 1833, p. 57.
  4. Translation of a Thibetan Passport, dated A. D. 1688, vol. 2, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 201.
  5. Original of the Shakya Race, translated from the (La) or the 26th volume of the *MDo* class in the Ka-gyur, commencing on the 161st leaf, vol. 2, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 385.
  6. Mode of expressing Numerals in the Thibetan language, vol. 3, Journal Asiatic Society, p. 6.
  7. Extracts from Thibetan works, translated by M. Alex. Csoma de Körös, vol. 3, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 57.
  8. Grammar and Dictionary of the Thibetan language in two vols. printed at the expense of the British India Government under the direction of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, aided by the immediate Superintendence of the author, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta 1834.
  9. Interpretation of the Thibetan inscription on a Bholau Bunner taken in Assam, vol. 5, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 264.
  10. Translation of the Motto on the margin of one of the white satin scarfs of the Thibetan Priests, vol. 5, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 383.
  11. Notices on the different systems of Buddhism, extracted from the Thibetan Authorities, vol. 7, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 142.
  12. Enumeration of Historical and Grammatical works to be met with in Thibet, vol. 7, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 147.
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*Narrative of a tour over that part of the Naga Hills lying between the Diko and Dyang river, in a letter from CAPT. BRODIE, P. A. Commissioner to MAJOR JENKINS, Commissioner of Assam. Communicated from the Foreign Department.*

I left Sibsagur on the 26th of January, accompanied by Mr. J. Bedford, Sub-Assistant, and Mr. J. W. Masters, late Superintendent of the Assam Company, with an escort of the strength noted in the margin,

1 Subadar,	furnished by the Officer Commanding the Assam
1 Jemadar,	Light Infantry Battalion. We encamped at Mit-
4 Havildars,	tenswa, a small village near the foot of the hills the
4 Naicks,	same evening.
1 Bugler,	
60 Sepoys.	

Leaving Mittenswa about 9 o'clock the next morning, we reached our encampment under the village of Namsang at 3 P. M.; the road is tolerably good, and the ascent easy, till towards the latter end of the march. Two long steep ascents, called by the Nagas Horoo Lejoo and Bar Lejoo, are then met with; on the top of the latter we encamped, the village of Namsang being about quarter of a mile off, and from 300 to 400 feet above us.

On the 28th, the Seema Rajah came in with about 400 followers; at the interview I had with him, he requested permission for his dependents to come down to the plains to trade. This was arranged, the Jattoong Chiefs consenting to their coming through the Matnug Mar-nug, one of their passcs.

Seema lies between Jaktoong and Mooloong, and has fourteen villages tributary to it. The names given of them as are follows: Lenga, Seeyong, Taya, Juitaks, Burgaon, Chinkam, Singpho Jangha, Singlung, Lungwa, Sunjee, Haching, Kamling, Tingko. The Chief stated that he had no feud at present, and readily entered into engagements to abstain from warfare.

On the departure of the Secma Chiefs, I had an interview with those of Jaktoong. You will recollect that on one of these named Hoang Gohein, a fine had been imposed in consequence of a murder that had been committed in the plains by one of his sons. The Chief apologized for not having come down the preceding year, which he said was caused by the small pox raging violently in his village; he alleged his inability to

See my letter No. 7, of the 9th April 1842.

pay the fine in money, and presenting a buffalo in lieu, begged he might be released from annual payment.

I am of opinion that the fine can be realized, but it might be necessary to use force to effect this; and as the expence attending the employment of troops, would far exceed the value of any thing to be realized, Government may deem it advisable to remit further payment. Before the time this fine was imposed, there had been frequent incursions on the plains by the Nagas in this direction, but for the last three years nothing of the kind has occurred; and though no absolute confidence can be placed on such vile people as the Nagas, I have very great hopes that they will keep from disturbing the peace on the plains.

There are three modes of dealing with the fine. 1st—To realize it; using force, if necessary. 2d—To let it remain in force, realizing it if possible without force—and, 3rdly, to remit it altogether; and I should wish to be favored with the views of Government as to which of these courses should be followed. Should Government be pleased to remit the fine, it might be done on the ground of subsequent good behaviour, and the ready compliance with the request made for a passage for the Seema Nagas.

On the morning of the 29th we proceeded to Naughta; there had been rain in the night, and the road was very slippery in consequence; it passes through the village of Namsang, and from thence by a rapid and steep descent to the Diko. After winding up the left bank of this river for a short distance, we entered a narrow, stony nullah, called Hoodaee Jan, up which we went for about a mile and a half, and then had a very fatiguing ascent all the way to Nangta. This, for a Naga village, is a very small one, and is one of the few met with, that have no defences. The Tangsa and other tribes are reported to have destroyed it many years ago, since which the bulk of the former inhabitants have settled in other villages; those who remain appear to have thrown themselves entirely on the mercy of their more powerful neighbours, and they apparently enjoy a security for life and property beyond that of any other tribe.

Before leaving Namsang, I had an interview with the Tubloong Rajah, who had arrived late on the preceding evening. On reference to my letter No. 7, of the 9th of April 1842, para. 5th, you will observe, that I met this Chief on my former tour. Our communication on the

present occasion was much the same as before ; he is extremely anxious to get possession of the land and beels he formerly held : the land is now I believe either out of cultivation or in the occupation of other parties, and the Berhampooter has carried away one of the beels, and the others have been filled up. It is not easy therefore to restore exactly what he asks for, but an equivalent might be given him in a grant of 30 or 40 poorahs of land rent free, in the Government Jykhumdang Khat, and of one or other of the beels lying between the Diko and the Desang, near where his own beels were situated. The circumstances under which the Chief lost his possessions in the plains, as detailed in the paragraph to which I have alluded, though giving him no right to compensation from the British Government, are such as call for a liberal consideration of his claim, and I would recommend its being complied with, as the most likely means of securing the attachment of a Chief whose influence is very considerable among the tribes in this direction, and who we expect to become estranged if it be refused : should it be deemed expedient to make the grant, its continuance after the present Chief's death might be subject to review whenever that event takes place.

On the 30th we marched to Kam Sing, a large and well stockaded village, commanding a fine view of the surrounding country ; the Chief is one of the best disposed we met with, and we received from him here, and afterwards, as much assistance as he could give us. The journey occupied us about three hours, the road being for the most part tolerably level, with a few gentle slopes.

On the 31st we halted, to enable me to adjust, as far as I could, some feuds that were here brought to notice. The Kam Sing Chief has a feud with the Yungya Abors ; but though I made every effort to get the Chiefs of this tribe brought in, I was unsuccessful : they are however on good terms with the Tubloong Chief, and I am not without hopes that I shall be able to get them to come down to the plains through his influence. He sent his nephew over, who brought in a few Yungya pynes, but they came invested with no authority from the community, and could give no account of the feuds of their clans.

The Tangsa Abors were brought over by the Kam Sing Chief ; these Abors have been at war with the Namsang Nagas. The origin of the feud was represented by both parties as follows : Some years ago, a

runaway Naga from Tangsa went to live in Namsang, and after having been kindly treated there for some time, he was turned out as a thief, and went back to his own village; some articles which it was alleged he had stolen, were demanded by the Namsang Chief, and on the Tangsa Chief refusing to deliver them up, his village was attacked by the Namsang Chief, who was beaten back, losing one of his followers. The dispute was adjusted by the Tangsa Chief delivering to the Chief of Namsang, a war dress, sword, shield and spear.

The Namsang Nagas had also a quarrel with the Nagas of Nowgong. It arose in a claim for tribute alleged to be due from Nowgong to Namsang; the two tribes had long been at war, and numbers have been cut up on either side. On one occasion when the Nowgong Nagas had suffered severely, they made some presents to the Namsang Chief, which it was alleged by the former were given to put an end to the feud at that particular time. The other party maintained, that it was a tribute to be paid annually. The Namsang Chief now waived his claim on the Nowgong Chief, swearing publicly on a sword, that he had never promised to make an annual payment.

These arrangements were made on the morning of the 1st February, after which we proceeded to Nowgong. The road was very similar to what we passed over in our last march, and the distance travelled much the same. Nowgong is strongly stockaded, and set with panjees; it, like Kam Sing, commands a fine view of the surrounding country; the population is large, and the houses compactly situated; and judging from the clothing of the people, the ornaments of the women and children, their pigs, poultry and cattle, it may be looked upon as one of the richest villages in the hills; water is scarce here, and was so at our two last halting places.

On the 2nd we marched to Larayun, a village about as large as Nowgong, with the same kind of defences. The march occupied about four hours; the road is not so level as in the two last marches, but it is tolerably good; it has an easy descent to about midway, and then rises gradually to Larayun.

Larayun is at war with the Chinko or Peugaho Abors, who live on the opposite side of the Diko; I was anxious to adjust this, but could get no communication made to the latter tribe. They are said to hold no intercourse with any of our Boree Nagas, and none of our Kotokees know



any thing of them. I understand that the only chance of communicating with them, would be through the Yungya tribe, if we succeed in getting them to come in.

On the 3rd and 4th we were halted, to get up supplies from the plains. On the 4th we went out to Santung, a very large and populous village, about two miles from our encampment, in a south-westerly direction; both Santung and Larayun are on the ridge which separates the Diko from the Jazee; and from the former there is a magnificent view of the gorge of the Diko, which here flows down directly from the southward. While at Larayun, I received its Chiefs, and the Chiefs of Santoong and Akoea, who entered into the usual engagements; there was abundance of water from a rivulet on the Santung road.

On the 5th we had a very long and fatiguing march to the Jazee; for the first one and a half mile, we retraced our steps on the Now-gong road, and then turned westerly, descending rapidly by a narrow, steep, slippery path, which brought us to a rocky nullah, called the Seemuk; we followed the bed of this, till its junction with the Jazee, where we encamped. This march occupied us nearly nine hours.

On the 6th we proceeded down the bed of the Jazee for some little distance, crossing and re-crossing it several times. After leaving the river, we ascended by a very narrow path, with high reed jungle on both sides. As we approached Diko Hymoong, the road became wider, and it was very good in the immediate neighbourhood of the village. We had intended to encamp here, but there was a difficulty in finding a sufficiency of water, and we proceeded on towards Boora Hymoong. The road between the two Hymoongs is tolerably level and open. Huts were ready for us under Boora Hymoong, at about half a mile north of the village; the water we were able to get here, was very scanty, and had to be brought from a considerable distance.

Both the Hymoongs stand on precipitous hills, and are well stockaded. Boora Hymoong has a feud with the Ooma Nagas, an Abor tribe, with whom I was unable to communicate, or to ascertain accurately in what direction they lie. The cause of the feud, as represented by the Chief of Boora Hymoong, is as follows: the Loongtaee and Campoongya Nagas, were formerly at war; the Ooma Nagas joined the former tribe, and came to Boora Hymoong to make an attack on Campoongya; they quarrelled in drink; and numbers were then, and afterwards, cut up

on either side. During the late rule of Rajah Poorunder Sing, the Ooma Nagas surrounded Boora Hymoong, and threatened it with destruction, when the whole village turned out, and the Ooma tribe were defeated with great slaughter, though they are said to have had far superior numbers.

Diko Hymoong has a feud with the Karee Nagas, but it does not appear that there has been any recent fighting. I endeavoured, but without success, to persuade the Chiefs to go on with me to the next Dwar, where I expected to meet the Karee Chiefs. They agreed, however, to abstain from war, as did also the Karee Chiefs, when I met them a few days afterwards at Kolabaria.

At Boora Hymoong, I met the Oormoong Chiefs; they informed me that they had no feuds, and willingly entered into the engagements required of them. We heard here too, that the Sorsoo Chiefs had been at Nowgong in the expectation of meeting me there; they are said to be a numerous tribe, who cultivate cotton largely. Cotton is cultivated to some extent by all the Nagas in this direction, and to the westward, but we saw scarcely any traces of it in the route we went.

On the 9th we marched to Asringiya; we first descended for about an hour by a narrow, precipitous path, to a stream called the Teeroo, which falls into the Jazee; after crossing this, we began to ascend, and another hour and a half brought us to Laso, and in as much more, we reached Asringiya; the road between the two latter villages is good, and tolerably level. They and Campoongiya, are nearer to the plains than any Naga village we met with.

At Asringiya, besides the Chiefs of that village, we met those of Laso, Booragoon, Campoongiya and Moon Sing, who all entered into the engagements required of them.

On the 10th we moved to Kolabaria, which we reached in about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours, having passed through the village of Nowgong, about midway. For the most part the road is good, with no very steep ascents or descents; in some places it is narrow, with heavy reed jungle overhanging it. On our arrival we were told that there was no good water to be had, but after searching for about an hour, we found a very nice stream, and encamped on it in some ground that had been cleared for cultivation.

After meeting the Kolabaria and Karee Chiefs, and taking agreements from them, we moved on the 11th to Samsa, reaching it in about 3 hours: this is a considerable village, standing on the ridge which separates the Jazee and the Deesae. Passing through the village, we descended rapidly, and in about an hour reached the huts that had been erected for us on the Sohopanee, a pretty large stream, flowing into the Deesae. The road from Kolabaria to Samsa is easy.

We remained encamped on the Sohopanee for the three following days, during which, I met the Chiefs of Nowgong, Loomtrya, Samsa, Bor Doobiya, Jafoo, Moonjee, and Aliepa. The Nagas come down here in very large numbers, and I was somewhat fearful of an outbreak; for a great many of the Chiefs were in a state of intoxication, and appeared to have very little control over their followers. We saw a marked difference in this respect here, and as we went on westward; hitherto we had found the Chiefs sober, and their orders readily obeyed; but henceforward we were to meet with nothing but drunken rabbles. In each village there are dozens of aspirants for power, and we had daily to witness brawls between them that threatened to be serious, and perhaps lead to collision with us; by great forbearance, however, on the part of my escort, things went on as well as could be hoped for, and we completed our tour without any untoward occurrence.

It may be right to mention here, an unfortunate circumstance that happened last year at Taratolla, in the plains. Some Nagas of Samsa had been down to trade, rather late in the season, and on their return, had to cross a small stream which had been dammed up, and at which about thirty or forty persons of the Non Cacharee Khel, were fishing: on the Nagas driving a bullock over the dam, a squabble ensued, and a poor Naga was killed. At the time this occurred, a rumour reached me that something of the kind had happened, and very particular enquiry was made into the matter. The reports of the Police, sent out to investigate it, and of the Mouzadars, led to the supposition that the man had died a natural death; and as the Nagas would not then come down, I was obliged to put the case by till the cold season: even when I was close to the Samsa village, I could get no one who was with the deceased to appear before me, but subsequently they came down, and I have no reason to think, that their statement, as given

above, is otherwise than true ; every exertion has been made by myself and my assistants to find out the individuals concerned, and a reward has been offered, under your authority. These Cacharces, however, are the most obstinate people possible, and it is but too probable, the guilty parties will not be discovered. Should it be found impossible to bring any of the parties to justice, I would ask permission to make some suitable present to the family of the deceased, to the extent of Rs. 100 or 150, when communicating to them the result of the enquiry. The matter is still under investigation.

On the 14th February we moved in the direction of Mikilaec. We started at 7-30 A. M. and kept winding down the Sohopanee till 2 P. M. when we again encamped on that stream. About an hour after leaving our former encampment, we came upon a small piece of rice cultivation, called Baka Pathar. I was informed that many Assamese ryots took refuge here, to avoid the exactions and oppressions they were subject to, in the late rule of Rajah Poorunder Sing ; a few still remain, but they complain of the incessant demands made on them by the Nagas, and it seems probable that in a short time they will return to the plains.

On the 15th we continued our course along the Sohopanee, crossing and re-crossing it continually. After leaving it, we came upon frequent swamps, over which some frail bridges were thrown. On losing the swamps, we began to rise rapidly, and in about an hour reached the Mikilaee. The whole distance occupied about four hours ; we passed on, and reached Mohom in little more than half an hour ; immediately under it we found an excellent spot to encamp upon, with good clear water on every side.

Mikilaee is a very large and strongly stockaded village, and being  
See para. 49th. high and openly situated, it commands a good view of the country round about. This village has a feud with the Soomtiya Nagas, which will be presently alluded to.

We were obliged to halt for two days at Mohom to get up supplies. While here, I had interviews with the Chiefs of Mikilaee, Akook and Mohom, and after the usual interchange of presents, they gave in their engagements. Mohom is a small village, with no defences.

On the 18th we started at 7-30 A. M. for Lakotee, which we reached at 10 A. M. At 8-15 we reached Akook, a long straggling village, and passed out of it at 8-35. The road is pretty good, for the most part



level. About a mile beyond Akook, it is narrow for some distance, with thick reed jungle on both sides; after getting out this, it began to improve, and as we neared Lakotee, it became wide and open.

Lakotee is a very extensive village, with good wide roads about it in every direction. Its height, taken by a mountain thermometer, was found to be nearly 4,000 feet, the greatest height reached in our tour. We remained here for two days, during which I met the Chiefs of Lakotee, Jangpang, Burgaon, Malusee, Lougjang, and Koreegaon.

We left our camp on the morning of the 20th at 7-15, and reached the end of Lakotee at 8, Koreegaon at 10, Saneegaon at 11, and our encamping ground under Misangaon at noon. With the exception of one narrow precipitous path, about a mile from Koreegaon, the road between it and Lakotee is good; it is wide and good from Koreegaon to Saneegaon, which are both villages of considerable size. After leaving Saneegaon, the road continues good for some distance, it then goes down a steep narrow path, and rises gradually to Misangaon. The latter part of the road had been cleared, or it would have been very bad.

Saneegaon is stockaded, but not very strongly, and there are no ditches; it is the first stockade we met with after leaving Mikilae, and this is said to have been put up in consequence of a misunderstanding with Lakotee, which has been adjusted. We met with no other stockades to the westward, except one recently made at Nowgong, in consequence of an incursion said to have been made on them by some of the Abor tribes, who live between the Bagtee and Dyang, and which will be noticed hereafter.

Our march on the 21st was very long and fatiguing, and leaving our camp at 8 A. M. we proceeded down a steep, rugged descent, and at 9-20, reached the Bagtee, a fine stream which falls into the Dyang. Shortly after leaving the Bagtee we came upon one of its feeders, called Kinnedea, and waded up its bed till 11-30. We then passed over some narrow, steep, slippery ridges, till 1 P. M. when we crossed a stream, called the Sufedec, and after ascending for an hour reached Bhedaree; passing through this village, we again descended to the Sufedec, and encamped on it, between Bhedaree and Kaboong. A portion of the coolies did not get up till next morning, and this, and bad weather, obliged us to halt on the 22d, on which day I received visits from the Chiefs of Bhedaree, Kaboong, Durria and Tillegaon.



On the 23d we started at 6-45, A. M. and passing through Kaboong at 8-15, and Durria at 9-35, reached at 10-40, our halting place, on a stream called Durria Panee, between Durria and Rangagaon. The road throughout this march was bad, and had been made worse by wet weather; it rose to Kaboong by the side of a precipitous hill, with scarcely room for the footing of a single person. From Kaboong to Durria it is pretty level, but narrow, and through dense reed jungle. The descent to the Durria Pance, is by a precipitous path of the same description.

On the 24th we moved about 7½ A. M. and passing through Rangagaon and Kergaon, and between Sunkah and Teelagaon, encamped about 3 P. M. on a small stream under Sonae, at a distance from it of about half a mile; this march was a fatiguing one, from the slippery and muddy state of the road, which would have been tolerably good had not rain fallen. The ascent to Rangagaon is steep; between it and Kergaon, the road is level, it then descends gradually to a stream which is crossed three times at short intervals. On leaving this, there is a fine wide road up an easy ascent to Sunkah, and from thence the road lay over undulating hills, to our encampment.

We were halted on the 25th, and I received visits from the Chiefs of Rangagaon, Kergaon, Seeka, Khoragaon, Talagaon, Sonareegaon, and Teelagaon. I also took the opportunity of going up to Sonareegaon and Teelagaon, the two largest of the Lotah villages. They probably contain about 4,000 inhabitants each. The other Lotah villages are comparatively small.

The Chief of Nowgong brought to my notice the aggression I have alluded to in para. 36th. There is no doubt that an incursion had been lately made, in which one of the Nowgong Nagas was killed, and another wounded; but it is doubtful what tribes were concerned in it. The Chief of Nowgong accused the Nang Chang and Pengsa Abors, but admitted that it could scarcely have happened without the connivance of the Sonaree and other Lotah Chiefs. A reference to the map which Mr. Bedford has prepared, will shew that if these Chiefs had been so inclined, the attacking party would in all probability have been cut up on their retreat. Nowgong is visible from Sonaree, and also from Teelagaon, and as these villages would be instantly aware of the attack, and could immediately communicate with Teelagaon and Sunkah, had they turned out

in force, it is nearly certain that the party would have been intercepted. The Sonaree Chiefs denied all knowledge of the matter ; but I may mention that they were generally in a state of intoxication, and that it was not easy therefore to deal with them. Conformably with the views expressed by His Honor the President in Council, in para. 4th, of Mr. Assistant Secretary P. Melville's letter, No. 36, of the 1st February last year, I requested the Chiefs to give me their aid in obtaining an interview with the Abor tribes, which they promised to do, but it has not been accomplished as yet.

An occurrence, however, that has lately taken place in this direction, which is reported in a letter from Mr. Wood, the Sub-Assistant, stationed at Golaghat, No. 64 of the 4th ultimo, copy of which is annexed, will render a further communication with these Chiefs necessary in the ensuing cold season. It appears that six elephant hunters, while out hunting under the hills, were attacked by about thirty Nagas, who plundered whatever they could lay hold of, and wounded some of the hunters. Two of these escaped with their lives, and some are missing, and supposed to have been murdered. When applied to by Mr. Wood, the Lotah Chiefs objected to coming down to the plains in consequence of the lateness of the season, and I consider this objection reasonable enough. It is probable that they will come down when the rains are over, and give the explanation required of them, and until they refuse this, it seems unnecessary to take any measures of coercion. It is doubtful in my mind what tribe are the offenders, but from some of the depositions taken by Mr. Wood, and from the nature of the case, as detailed by him, I am inclined to think, that the affrays may have arisen from the Nagas supposing that they alone have the privilege of hunting wild elephants in the place where it occurred. It happened within the jurisdiction of the principal assistant at Nowgong, and I should wish to be furnished with instructions, as to whether the enquiry shall be made by him or by myself.

On the 26th we moved down to the plains ; passing close under Sonareegaon, we turned off to the right to Nowgong, and reached it in about two hours, another hour brought us to the Dyang. The first part of the road between Sonareegaon and Nowgong is wide and open ; in a short time, however, we entered narrow and difficult passes cut through the hill : these led to a small stream, up the bed of which

we passed for about half a mile, and then got into a narrow path through high reed jungle, which continued till we reached Nowgong; after leaving this, we descended rapidly, till we came near to the level of the plains, and then passed through very heavy reed jungle, till we came out on the Dyung. After proceeding down thus for about two hours, we encamped on one of its sands.

On the 27th we continued our route, following the course of the Dyung. After a very long march, we encamped a little above Nogora, and reached Golaghat next day about 2 P. M. The country under the hills is a wild, dreary, swampy forest, and continued so till we came out at Nogora. There was nothing like a road or even a beaten path, which is accounted for, by the Lotah Nagas generally using boats.

In my report of the 15th September 1841, I have mentioned that the Naga tribes are distinguished by the names of Boree and Abor—the former being dependent, and the latter independent tribes. To the eastward, however, the Boree Chiefs who acknowledge a kind of dependance on us, have numerous Abor tribes tributary to them, which I did not find to be the case to the westward. There is here, therefore, considerably great difficulty in ascertaining the merits of any dispute, in which one party are Boree, and the other Abor; the former being bent on preventing all kinds of intercourse between us and the Abor tribes. It is only when they meet with some reverse, that they ask for aid; and then it is probable, that they will do nothing, but in furtherance of their own ends, which are to slaughter their enemies, burn their villages, and drive them to the jungles.

Having taken engagements from all the Boree Chiefs to abstain from warfare, it seems necessary, that the officer, in charge here, should be furnished with instructions as to how far he should interfere in their quarrels. It is obviously desirable, that he should do so as little as possible, but in the following cases it seems necessary:—

1st. In any attack by one Boree tribe on another. In this case both parties might be summoned down, and in the event of refusal to come, or to settle the dispute as directed, their village might be occupied till they complied. 2d. In an attack by a Boree on an Abor tribe, dependent or independent of a Boree tribe. On proper complaint being made in a case of this kind, the same course might be followed. In both

cases, the parties complained against are our dependents, and we have a clear right to their submission.

These are the only cases in which it seems to me to be absolutely necessary that interference by force should take place. But in the event of a Boree complaining against an Abor tribe, every means might be taken—either through the Boree Chiefs, on whom they are dependent; or if not so dependent, through any Boree tribe which may be on friendly terms with them—to induce the Abor tribe to come down, and submit their dispute to adjustment. If this cannot be accomplished, I am of opinion, that interference should not take place; for I believe that in almost every case of the kind, the Boree tribe could point out means by which the Abors might be got down, and that it is for objects of their own, that they do not do so. Before leaving this part of the subject, I would beg to mention again, what I stated in the 7th paragraph of my letter of the 15th September 1841, that I believed the Assam Government had found it more convenient to conciliate the Nagas by presents, than to overawe them by coercion; and I am still of opinion that the Political Officer, who has charge of the relations with these tribes, should have power to dispense presents liberally.

I may here state, that the following applications have been made to me, since I returned to Seeksagur.

The Chief of Boora Hymoong, came in on the 9th of March, and reported that his village had been burnt and plundered by the Nagas of Losiatua, Booragaon, and Loougliooug; these were summoned through their Kutokies, but objected to come to the plains so late in the season. It turned out, however, that the matter had been much exaggerated, and that the affair originated in some claims of certain Nagas who had left Boora Hymoong, and settled in Booragaon. The Chief of Boora Hymoong afterwards acknowledged, that the Loougliooug Nagas had returned what they took away; and I hope that after the rains, the matter will be adjusted with the other parties.

On the same date, the Loongjang Chief complained, that two women of his village had been cut up in their fields by the Moongjing Nagas. The Kutokies were directed to summon the Chiefs of Moongjing, who also objected to come down to the plains at that season, and nothing further can be done till November or December next.



The Mulotopeah Chief came in on the 9th April 1844, and mentioned that his tribe were afraid to come to the plains, from fear of being waylaid by the Langtooug and Nowgong Nagas, on account of an old feud. This Chief said, he would come in again after the rains, and I hope to be able to adjust the matter to the satisfaction of the parties.

Besides these cases which have lately been brought to notice, there are the following, which I was unable to adjust while in the hills, from not being able to bring the parties together.

A feud between Mikilaie and Losuetuja early in 1834. The Chief of the former tribe complained, that 14 of his men had been cut up by the Hatheegurh Nagas. These denied all knowledge of the matter, and said it was probably done by the Soomtiya Nagas, who were at enmity with Mikilaie. The Soomtiya Nagas deny it, but allow that there is an old feud between their tribe and Mikilaie, and I will endeavour to bring the parties together at the earliest period possible.

About the beginning of December last, the Sonarree Chiefs complained that the Topoo and Tootee Abors had carried off and detained a boy and girl from their village; I had hoped to have settled this, but could find no means of getting the opposite party present. It would appear that the Nagas in this direction are in the habit of making captives, with a view to obtain ransom.

The following occurrences among the Nagas to the eastward have been brought to notice.

I received a report towards the end of November last, that the Paundwar, Makrong, and Singpoongiya Nagas, had cut up three men, belonging to Horoo Bansary. On enquiry it turned out, that Mokreng or Koting-gaon is tributary to Horoo Bansary; and that a Naga belonging to the former tribe had gone with tribute to the latter, and was put to death. The Koting Nagas shortly after this, cut up the three men alluded to. The Pandwar Chief came in himself, and stated that he was in no way whatever concerned in the matter; he thought the dispute might be settled through the Burdwar and Namsang Chiefs; and they were applied to, but I have not heard that they have yet been able to adjust it. Both parties in this case are Abors.

A report reached me at Boora Hymoong, that the Khetree Nagas had, on the 18th of January, attacked Boonting-gaon, burning the village and killing eight men. Both parties are Abors, and I fear there is



little chance of doing any thing in this direction, without the assistance of the Namsang and Burdwar Chiefs, who shew any thing but a readiness to give it.

On the 8th of April, a complaint was made to Mr. Bedford at Jaipore, by the Baufera Nagas, who stated that two men and a woman belonging to their village, had been put to death in Horoo Mootoon. An enquiry was immediately directed; and on the 24th of May, the Naga Chowtang of both villages came before me, and stated that the parties put to death were slaves, who had run away from Baufera, and that according to the Naga custom, they had very properly been put to death. The Baufera Chowtang said, that this should have taken place in presence of both parties, and on the borders, and not at Horoo Mootun, but that the matter had been settled amicably among themselves.

On the 1st of May the Chowtang of Jaboka reported that he was fearful of being attacked by the Abors of Seuhoon, Roodooa, Kyouting, Poomau and Mijuo. A guard from the Assam militia was offered for their protection, but the Chowtang said it was unnecessary; that the village could take care of itself till the rains were over; and if matters were not adjusted then, he would make another report.

Before concluding this report, it may be convenient to refer to my reports of the 15th September 1841, and 9th April 1842, regarding the habits of the Nagas, their defences, arms, &c. and to observe that the observations made therein, will apply generally to the tribes I met with in my present tour. The villages we met with in the tour, are in general, large and thickly populated, the largest may contain from 4000 to 5000 inhabitants, and few could have had less than 2000.

The Naga country lying between the Diko and Dyang, is divided into six Dwars, as follows: Namsang, Dopdar, Charingaya or Asringiya, Hatheegurhiya, Dyungiya and Pancephat. A list of villages comprised in these Dwars, is appended.

The Nagas of Namsang Dwar enter the plains in Gelakee, and exchange cotton, cloths, ginger, pepper and beetlenut, for salt, rice, dhan, daws, cattle, poultry, and dried fish. These are the principal articles of exchange in all the other Dwars; but raw cotton is brought down by the westerly Dwars, particularly by the Panceput or Lotah tribes; this cotton, or the bulk of it, is exchanged in the first instance by the above

Nagas to the Borees, for their own products and products of their plains, and it is then brought down by the Boree Nagas, and exchanged to the Assamese; a small quantity comes down at Dopdar, and larger quantities at the Dwars west of it.

The Dopdar, Charingaya, Hatheegurh, Dyungiya, and Paneephath Nagas, come down respectively by Dossdur, Taratollce, Morecomee, Bosa, and Mokrung. In Bosa and Mokrung there are several Passes.

To each of the Dwars are attached Kutokies, who are the channel of communication between the Government Officers and the Boree Nagas; these were formerly paid for their services by a remission of the poll tax, and they now receive a remission on their land, equal to what was remitted when the poll tax existed; some of them derive advantage from having the management of Khats, which the former rulers of Assam gave certain of the Naga tribes, and to which they attach importance; a list shewing the number of Kutokies, their allowances, and the Naga Khats, and quantity of land in each, as far as is known, is annexed to this report.

The Lotah Nagas had formerly Khats on the Morung side, and they are particularly anxious to obtain an equivalent for them on this side of the Dhunsuree. The Khats they formerly held are either out of cultivation, or taken up by the ryots; and I would recommend that they be allowed to take up from 30 to 40 Poorahs of any Puteet land they can point out. The value they attach to these Khats, is a great security for their peaceable behaviour.

Mr. Masters has kindly favoured me with his observations on the botany of that portion of the hills which we passed over, and which I have much pleasure in submitting with this report. Mr. Bedford has also made a most accurate map of our route, including all villages seen from it, which will be of great use hereafter. To both these gentlemen, I am under considerable obligations, for the assistance they gave me on many occasions.

Our tour was necessarily a very hurried one; I could have wished to remain longer in almost every place, but we started in rain, and had a good deal of it in the hills; and I was fearful of being driven down before I had completed the tour; and in fact continued and heavy rain set in immediately we left the hills. We have now, however, a knowledge of the localities of all the tribes on our borders, and for some distance

in the interior, and they can be visited at any time there may be occasion for it. It is hardly to be supposed, that a barbarous people, who have lived and gloried in war for ages, will at once leave off their wild habits; and no doubt we shall have to remonstrate with them frequently; but I have every reason to think, that less bloodshed now takes place than formerly, and it is to be hoped, that all these tribes will fall gradually into more peaceful habits.

I cannot conclude this report without again bringing to notice, the very great assistance I derived from Noramaee Deka Phokun, Naga Surburakar, in my dealings with the Chiefs who visited me. He was far from well when we started, and had frequent attacks of fever, but nothing would induce him to leave his post, and he continued with me throughout the tour, under circumstances in which few of his class would have remained.

I beg to submit a Bill for the expences incurred on the present expedition, which I beg you will recommend being passed.

*P. A. Comr. Office; 6th Aug. 1844.*

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## एशियाटिक् सोसाइट् संस्कृत नागराक्षर ॥

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महाभारतं आद्यन्त ४ खण्ड	...	...	४०
महाभारतीयार्त्तगतसूचीपत्र आद्यन्त			
४ खण्ड	...	...	६
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शकुन्तला नाटक्	...	...	१०

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